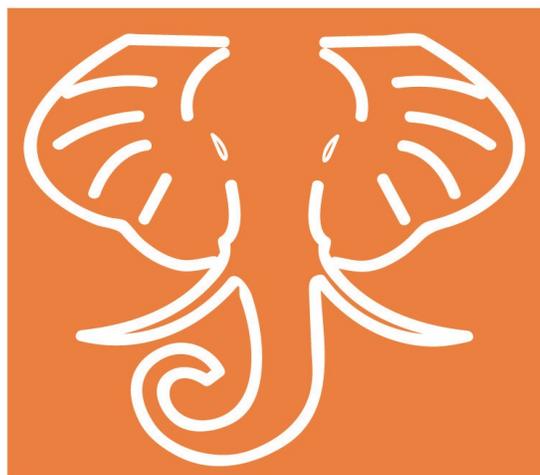


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THE SUN DANCE AND OTHER CEREMONIES OF THE OGLALA  
DIVISION OF THE TETON DAKOTA.

BY

J. R. WALKER.



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DIVISION OF THE TETON DAKOTA.**

**BY J. R. WALKER.**



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## INTRODUCTION.

The Siouan words in this paper are of the Teton dialect as it is spoken by the Oglala, the letters in them having the same values as in English, except that those in the following table represent only the sounds indicated therein:—

a	as	a	in	far
e	as	a	in	fate
i	as	e	in	me
o	as	o	in	no
u	as	o	in	move
c	as	ch	in	chin
g	as	gu	in	gull
n	as	n	in	no, when it begins a syllable
n	as	n	in	ink, when it does not begin a syllable
s	as	sh	in	she
h	as	h	in	he, when it begins a word
h	as	a		guttural aspirate, vocalized, when it does not begin a word

The capitalization, other than that required by English, is to indicate that the things capitalized were considered sacred by the Oglala.

During many years, the vocation of the author brought him into intimate relation with the Oglala, and during that time, for his personal gratification, he gathered all the information he could get, relative to the aboriginal state of the Lakota, receiving it from many persons, at times and places far apart. He cultivated the friendship of the shamans, and became a shaman, thus receiving information that it was impossible to get otherwise. The notes taken at these times are largely fragmentary and contain much repetition and irrelevant matter, but their substantial agreement indicates the authenticity of the information and that the subjects had been formalized for a sufficient length of time to eliminate incongruities. In this paper the author has tried to arrange the information he secured relative to the Sun Dance and other special ceremonies, as conducted according to the point of view of an Oglala Shaman, giving the reasons why and the manner in which the successive steps in the ceremonies should be performed, as well as expressing the concepts of the informants as the author understood them. The chief aim is to present a full account of the Oglala Sun Dance, giving the information as it was received, as nearly as may be, when irrelevant matter is eliminated and it is systematized. The principal informants were old Oglala who professed to have participated in the ceremony, some of

whom were Shamans who claimed to have conducted the Sun dance ceremony in its fullest form. These informants are now all dead.

The Shamans were the custodians of the mythological and ceremonial lore of the Lakota and they hid much of this in an esoteric language, revealing it only to one who was to become a Shaman. Consequently, the people now know but little of this lore and have abandoned the Shamans and their doctrines. The remaining Shamans are all old men, so that there are now but few who know the ancient mythology and ceremonials. Even many of the names of their ancient deities have been forgotten by the people. These names, as given in this paper, are those used in the ceremonial language of the Shamans.

While the Shamans recognized a scheme in their mythology and a system in their ceremonials, they had never formulated them into a single whole. No one Shaman was found who could give them in a comprehensive or sequential manner. Aided by the Shamans, the scheme of their mythology was formulated and this was approved by every informant to whom it was submitted. In the same manner, the system of the ceremonials was formulated and approved. In former times, the Oglala had ceremonies that pertained to almost every act of their lives. The simplest was the passing of the pipe and the most complex, the Sun Dance. In performing these ceremonies every word or movement is a formal rite that has reference to the mythology. Therefore, to understand the ceremonies, one must know the rites and something of the mythology. The Oglala did not worship their deities and their ceremonials were not devotional. They considered their Gods as merely superhuman, whose aid could be invoked, or who could be pleased so that they would grant favors, or who could be displeased so that they would punish.

The professional story-tellers were of material assistance in getting information. They were important constituents of the social organization of the Lakota winter camp, for they were the custodians of the legendary lore and told the legends, both for entertainment and instruction. Usually these story-tellers were Shamans. A few of these legends that deal with the mythology are appended to this paper.

The greatest difficulty encountered in gathering information was due to the misinterpretation of the concepts expressed by the informants. This difficulty is apt to occur to anyone who attempts to get information from the old Lakota, because, owing to the paucity of the old Lakota vocabulary, it is often necessary to express widely varying concepts by the same word or phrase, the comprehension of the concept depending on the association of correct ideas with the expression. The phrases were conventional, but not fixed, for they could be modified by the addition, subtraction, or inter-

jection of words. When the white people heard these phrases they assumed that they were words and wrote them as such. In translating English into Lakota, there was often no Lakota word equivalent to the English word and in such cases a Lakota word was used to express a concept that was foreign to it. Thus, in written Lakota, the phrases became fixed as words and insusceptible to modification so that many words were given new meanings. Thus was brought about a marked transition of the language, both in structure and meaning, so that there are now both old and modern forms of speech. Thus, influenced by education received from white people, the younger generation of the Oglala adopted the modern form of the language, and abandoned the Shamans and their ceremonials, and nearly all the customs of the old Lakota. Yet, the old people when speaking in a formal manner, or of formal things, still use the old forms of speech. Naturally, the interpreters, who are of the younger generation, do not understand all of the modified phrases peculiar to the old forms of speech and are apt to give erroneous and misleading interpretations. The Lakota term *Wakan Tanka*, and the English term Great Spirit illustrate these difficulties. In modern Lakota *Wakantanka* is one word, correctly interpreted as the Great Spirit, for, as now used, it designates Jehova, the God of Christians. In old Lakota *Wakan Tanka*, is two words, and designates a class of Gods, and through them all the Gods. It is never used to designate a single God; but the interpreters invariably interpret the term *Wakan Tanka* as the Great Spirit.

Again, my informants used the term *Nagi Tanka* and it was also interpreted as the Great Spirit, the interpreters asserting that *Wakan Tanka* and *Nagi Tanka* were synonymous terms; but upon inquiry, it appeared that the informants had only asserted that *Nagi Tanka* was one of the *Wakan Tanka*. Then some informants used the terms *Tokan*, *Skan*, and *Taku Skanskan* to designate Gods. These were interpreted as the Sky, the Moving, and What Moves. The information given with these interpretations was confusing and often contradictory. Other informants used the terms *Wikan*, *Makakan*, and *Inyankan* to designate Gods, and they were interpreted as the Sun, the Earth, and the Rock. It developed that *Wikan* was the shamanistic term for *Wakan Tanka Wi* and this term was interpreted as the Great Spirit, the Sun. With these misinterpretations, the mythology and ceremonials of the Lakota appeared to be indefinite, vague, and puzzling. But after some years, it was found the *Tokan*, *Skan*, and *Taku Skanskan* were appellatives of *Nagi Tanka*, the Great Spirit, according to that God's attributes, and that *Wakan Tanka* designated the Gods, *Wi Skan*, *Maka*, and *Inyan*, considered as a whole, and through them including all other Benevolent Gods. The Shamans also used the term *Tob-tob* as if to designate a God. This term was interpreted as Four-four, but it puzzled

us until it was learned that the term *Tob-tob* differs from the term *Wakan Tanka* only in that it considers all the Benevolent Gods, each of four classes and four in each class, as one whole. Now, when these basic conceptions were comprehended, investigation relative to ceremonials and mythology was easy.

The Oglala make a wide distinction between the ceremony of the Sun Dance and the sun dance itself, for the dance is but a culminating rite of the ceremony.<sup>1</sup> The ceremony is graduated according to the purposes of the dancers, each grade having all the rites of the grade below it and additional rites. The highest grade is performed for a dancer who dances for the purpose of becoming a Shaman. It is not necessary to dance in the Sun Dance to become a Shaman, but those who do so are most highly esteemed, and only they can possess a Fetish with the potency of *Wakan Tanka*. As should be expected of a people who had no literature, no ceremony was invariable, but it was required that in each ceremony each rite should be performed always in the same manner as nearly as the circumstances would permit. In any ceremony, a Shaman could perform additional rites according to his will. The ceremony of the Sun Dance was given for the benefit of both the dancer and the people and could not be carried out without the participation of the latter.

The author is indebted to many Oglala for information, especially to Little-wound, American-horse, Bad-wound, Short-bull, No-flesh, Ringing-shield, Tyon, and Sword. Little-wound was the first to agree to tell the secret lore of the Shamans, but he died before he could do so. American-horse gave much information relative to the war customs of the Lakota. Bad-wound, No-flesh, and Ringing-shield gave information relative to the doctrines of the Oglala. Short-bull gave information and painted two large pictures of the ceremonial camp for the Sun dance in which each detail is significant. Tyon spoke and wrote in English poorly, but he was the most valuable interpreter, for he knew of the old customs, ceremonials, and lan-

<sup>1</sup> This account of the Sun Dance is based exclusively upon original data and not in any way influenced by previous writers. The published accounts so far available are as follows:—

Alice C. Fletcher, *The Sun Dance of the Ogalalla Sioux (Proceedings, American Association for the Advancement of Science, thirty-first meeting, pp. 580-584, Salem, 1883).*

Edward S. Curtis, *The North American Indian*, vol. 3. Cambridge, 1908.

Gideon H. Pond, *Dakota Superstitions (Collections, Minnesota Historical Society, vol. 2, pp. 215-255, St. Paul, 1889).*

J. Owen Dorsey, *A Study of Siouan Cults (Eleventh Annual Report, Bureau of American Ethnology, Washington, 1894).*

None of these present so complete an outline of the ceremony as is to be found in the succeeding pages. So far we have noted no important contradiction in the several accounts. For this reason, and since the presentation here is from the point of view of the native conductor of the ceremony rather than from that of an onlooker, all specific references to parallels in the earlier accounts will be omitted.— *Editor.*

guage of the Lakota, and could comprehend most of the information given by the Shamans. For the benefit of the author, he wrote many Lakota texts upon which parts of this paper are based. He was a professional story-teller and had a large fund of Lakota legends.

Sword was a man of marked ability with a philosophical trend far beyond the average Oglala. He could neither write nor speak English, but wrote much in old Lakota and the translations of his texts have been used in the preparation of this paper. As but few Oglala can, he was able to talk interestingly of the former habits and conduct of his people, so as to give distinct ideas of their daily lives. He began an autobiography which promised to be of historical value, but died before completing it.

A few days before the author left the Oglala he interviewed Finger, an old Shaman, who at that time gave information which clearly indicates that the Shaman's concept of the God *Skan*, or the Great Spirit, is a vague concept of force, or energy. We had no opportunity for verifying this information. The notes taken at this interview are appended to this paper.

J. R. WALKER, M. D.

December, 1916.

## THE SUN DANCE.

One desiring to dance the Sun Dance according to the customs of the Oglala as they were practised before contact with white people should choose an instructor to prepare him for the ceremony, who should teach him, in substance, as follows:—

The Sun Dance of the Oglala is a sacred ceremony which may be undertaken by any one of mankind, provided he or she:—

1. Undertakes it for a proper purpose.
2. Complies with the essentials for the ceremony.
3. Conforms to the customs of the Oglala.
4. Accepts the mythology of the Lakota.

The proper purposes for undertaking the Sun Dance are:—

1. To fulfill a vow.
2. To secure supernatural aid for another.
3. To secure supernatural aid for self.
4. To secure supernatural powers for self.

The essentials for the ceremony are:—

1. The constituents.
2. The conditions.
3. The stages.
4. The time.

The constituents are:—

1. The dancers.
2. The Mentors.
3. The assistants.
4. The people.

The conditions are:—

1. Provision for the ceremony.
2. Preparation of the dancers.
3. Consecration of the equipment.
4. Establishment of a ceremonial camp

The stages are:—

1. Announcement of the candidacy.
2. Instruction of the Candidate.
3. Occupation of the ceremonial camp.
4. Dancing the Sun Dance.

The time is:—

1. When the buffalo are fat.
2. When new sprouts of sage are a span long.
3. When chokecherries are ripening.
4. When the Moon is rising as the Sun is going down.

Before beginning to dance the Sun Dance during the ceremony the Candidate must make an acceptable offering to the Sun and have a wound that will cause his blood to flow while he dances. If he dances the Sun Dance to its completion, he may expect a vision in which he may receive a communication from the Sun.

All the requirements and rites pertaining to this ceremony are based upon the Mythology of the Lakota and they must be supervised by a Shaman. A Shaman must control the ceremonial camp and conduct all the ceremonies pertaining to the Sun Dance that take place there, except the dance, which should be conducted by the leader of the dance. This dance may take either of the four forms, which are:—

1. Gaze-at-Sun.
2. Gaze-at-Sun Buffalo.
3. Gaze-at-Sun Staked.
4. Gaze-at-Sun Suspended.

The first is the simplest form and may be undertaken for either of the first three purposes enumerated above and performed with a scant compliance with the essentials, though the Candidate must comply with them to the best of his ability. It should be danced only when one or more of the other forms are danced. It must begin with the first song of the Sun Dance and continue during four songs, though it may continue during as many more songs as the dancer pleases. For this form, any offering may be made to the Sun, but it should be of as much value as the Candidate can afford. The wound to cause the blood to flow must not be smaller than that made by cutting away a bit of skin as large as a louse and it may be as large and deep as the Candidate wills to have it made. Women and children may dance the first form, because there are no tortures inflicted during the dance. Those who have danced the Sun Dance on a former occasion may again dance this form, provided they first make an offering to the Sun and cause the blood to flow from wounds on their persons. Such dancers may begin the dance at any time during the dance by others and may dance for as many songs as they choose.

The second, third, and fourth forms each differ from the others only in the manner of the wounds to cause the flow of blood and the torture inflicted during the dance; but the wounds and tortures for each form should be

made alike for each dancer of that form. One may undertake either of these three forms for either of the first three purposes; but one who undertakes to dance for the fourth purpose must dance the fourth form. The torture inflicted in the fourth form, may be, either figuratively or actually, suspending the dancer while he dances. If the dancer is dancing for the purpose of securing the supernatural powers that Shamans should have, he must dance the fourth form actually suspended. A dance thus performed is the Sun Dance in its fullest form which includes most of the Mythology and much of the customs of the Oglala. One who dances the Sun Dance in its fullest form establishes before the Sun, and in the presence of the people, his possession of the four great virtues, which are:—

1. Bravery.
2. Generosity.
3. Fortitude.
4. Integrity.

One who possesses these four virtues should be respected and honored by all the people. Thus, the scars made by the wounds and tortures inflicted during the Sun Dance are honorable insignia.

One who contemplates dancing the Sun Dance should know these things and carefully consider the compliance with the essentials for the performance of the ceremony, for it is done for the benefit of both the dancer and the people. He should endeavor to know whether the people deem his virtues sufficient to enable him to dance the Sun Dance to its completion or not; for, if they think he lacks in one or all of the great virtues, they probably will not become constituents, and he cannot have the ceremony performed.

The Sun Dance is a feastal ceremony and provision must be made for feasts that are rites and are to be given by the Candidate, his kindred, and his band, for all these are honored by the performance of the ceremony. Therefore, while it is expected that a Candidate will give all his possessions in making provision for the feasts, his kindred and his friends should also give liberally; indeed, the entire band should contribute for both feasts and presents. A Candidate must give presents to his Mentor and attendant and should give to all the assistants and those who take an active part in the rites of the ceremony. He must provide the equipment necessary for the occasion, and make acceptable offerings to the Sun. If he cannot comply with these conditions in an abundant manner, he should undertake only the first form of the dance, and then little will be expected of him or his people. If he thinks he can make suitable provision, he may proceed.

## CHOOSING THE MENTOR.

He should choose some one to be his Mentor to prepare him for the ceremony. He should make this choice according to the purpose for which he will undertake the dance, for his Mentor should be one who can fit him for that purpose. He may choose anyone, except that if he is to dance to become a Shaman he must choose a Shaman as his Mentor. This too, should be borne in mind, that to become the leader of the dance the Candidate's Mentor must be a Shaman.

When he has made his choice he should take a present, a pipe, and smoking material, and go to the tipi of the one chosen, enter it, and lay the present at the right side of the *catku*, which is the place at the rear inside the tipi, and opposite the door, the place of honor. By thus placing a present, one indicates that he has a request of importance to make. When he has placed the present, he should fill the pipe, light it, and offer it to the one chosen. In ordinary visits, the one who dwells in the tipi is first to fill the pipe and light it and then offers it to the visitor as a courtesy indicating friendship. If a visitor fills the pipe first and offers it to the host, this indicates that he esteems his host very highly and is willing to be subordinate to him. If the host refuses the pipe this indicates that he does not desire intimate relations with the one offering it. If the pipe thus offered by one who has made a choice for his Mentor is refused, he may choose another, but it would be better for him to proceed no farther in the matter because such a refusal would indicate that all his people are not willing to become constituents in a ceremony performed for him. But if the pipe is accepted, the one offering and the one accepting it, should smoke it in communion until its contents are consumed. Why they two alone should smoke this pipeful and why they should smoke until the contents of the pipe are consumed, will appear in the course of this paper.

Having smoked in communion, which is done by passing the pipe from one to the other and alternately smoking four whiffs from it, the host should ask the visitor regarding his request and the visitor should tell his desires and make his request. In case the request is for the host to become a Mentor, he should take the present and place it with his possessions and appoint a day when he will come to the tipi of the one who has chosen him, and then and there, give his answer to the request. The one who is to receive this answer should make a feast on the appointed day and invite two of his friends to the feast. On that day, the one chosen and the invited friends should go to the tipi where the feast is made and feast with the one who gives it.

After the feast, the one who is to receive the answer should fill a pipe, light it, and offer it to the one he has chosen, saying, "*Tunkansila*, smoke that all may be as we desire." The Lakota word, *tunkansila*, ordinarily means maternal grandfather, but it is often used as a term of reverence, and as used in this rite, indicates that the one using it desires the one to whom he has applied it, to become his instructor, to whom he will subordinate his thoughts, words, and deeds; that is, that he desires him to become his Mentor. The one to whom the pipe is thus offered should take it, saying "*Wole*, I will smoke that all may be as we desire." The Lakota word, *wole*, means one who seeks, and as used here it means one who seeks preparation to dance the Sun Dance or, in other words, a Candidate. When the pipe has thus been offered and accepted, the four who have feasted together should smoke it in communion until its contents are consumed. By these rites the relation of Mentor and Candidate is assumed and as this relationship is considered sacred, the titles are capitalized in this paper. This relationship continues from the time it is assumed, until the dance begins in the Sun Dance Lodge. It must be assumed before the establishment of the preliminary camp and may be at any time that will permit instruction of the Candidate to fit him for the purpose of his dance. For the first form of the dance, this may be but a few days before the establishment of the preliminary camp, but for the dance in its fullest form, the relationship should be assumed not later than during the moon when waterfowls return from the south, though it is better if assumed during the time of the snows.

When the rites of assuming the relationship are completed the Mentor should appoint one of the friends present to be the attendant of the Candidate, with the proviso that if at any time he is not able to perform his duties the other friend present shall act in his place. The one so appointed should attend and serve the Candidate from the time of his appointment until the Candidate has danced the Sun Dance and returned from the Sun Dance Lodge to his own tipi. It is expected that he and the Candidate will be *kolapi*, or comrades, during the remainder of their lives. When these formalities are completed, the Mentor should rise to return to his tipi, handing his pipe and tobacco pouch to the Candidate. The Candidate should take them, and carry them, following the Mentor to his tipi. This is the public announcement by the Candidate that he is to dance the Sun Dance, and when it is made, the council of his band should assemble in the council lodge to approve of the candidacy and thereby pledge the people as constituents of the ceremony.

## INVITATIONS.

This council should appoint two reputable young men as *akicita*, or messengers, to other bands. These messengers should be provided with a sufficient number of invitation wands and presents, a pipe, and sufficient tobacco. An invitation wand is made of a sprout from a plum tree, about as large as the largest quill from an eagle's wing, and four spans long. Its smaller end should be ornamented with a design of such color and material as the maker may see fit, though all for one event should be so nearly alike that there should be little choice among any of them, so as to give no cause for a thought of discrimination in the invitation. The presents may be any objects of value, but their values should be nearly alike. The usual presents are tobacco.

The messengers should clothe themselves in their gayest attire and leave so as to arrive by daylight and in an ostentatious manner, usually singing as they approach the camp. When two thus approach a Lakota camp, they are recognized as messengers and the herald should announce their approach. When such an announcement is made, the council should immediately assemble in the council lodge, and the herald should conduct the messengers to this assembly. Then one of the messengers should lay a present at the right side of the place of honor and the other should fill the pipe, light it, and offer it to the one who sits at the place of honor.

This one should be the chief of the band, but it may be either of the councilors. If the band is not inclined to friendly relations with the band that sent the invitation, the pipe will be refused; if so, the messengers should take the present and immediately leave the camp. If the pipe is accepted, all present in the lodge should smoke it in communion until its contents are consumed. Then the one who sits at the place of honor should ask of the messengers the object of their visit, and they should give the name of the Candidate and invite the band to be present at the ceremonial camp. If the band cannot accept the invitation, the reason should then be given, and in such case the messengers should take up the present and hand it to the one who sits at the place of honor, as a token of the continuation of friendship. If the council accepts the invitation, the one who sits at the place of honor should take up the present and hold it in his hands, thereby pledging the members of his band to become constituents of the ceremony. Then the messengers should give him an invitation wand which thereby becomes a token to be redeemed by those who sent it by a feast to those to whom it was sent. When these formalities are complied with, the messengers should remain for one night in the camp as the guests of the band

invited. The messengers should in this manner visit each camp for which they have invitation wands and if they speak to other than members of the invited bands, they should verbally invite them to be present at the ceremonial camp. When the messengers have visited the camps according to their instructions, they should return and report to the council of their camp and then their appointment as *akicita* terminates.

Invitations are given in this manner to induce others to become Candidates to dance the Sun Dance and in order to estimate the probable number that will be present at the ceremonial camp, so as to make suitable provision for them. If there are Candidates in other camps, the procedure should be the same with them. The greater the number of Candidates, the greater will be the festivities, and the greater the number of presents given and received. Further, the bands which become constituents of the ceremony vie with each other in the prodigality of their feasts, offerings, and presents, and in all that pertains to making the ceremony a notable occasion. The Candidate, whose candidacy is first announced by messengers, will be the leader of the dance if his Mentor is a Shaman. Otherwise, the leader should be chosen by the Candidates when they are about to occupy the Sacred Lodge within the ceremonial camp circle.

#### PREPARATION OF THE CANDIDATE.

Soon after the public announcement of the relation of Mentor and Candidate, the Mentor should require the Candidate to enter a sweatlodge to *ini*, or vitalize. *Inipi*, or vitalizing, is an act of more or less ceremony to stimulate the *ni*, or vitality, so that it may increase strength and purify the body. Vitalizing may be merely a means of refreshment, a remedial measure for disease, or to purify the body for some important undertaking. It ought always to be done as a preliminary to ceremonies pertaining to the *Wakan Tanka*, or the Great Gods. In its simplest form, it is done by releasing the spirit-like of water in a confined space so that it may enter the body. This spirit-like stimulates the vitality so that it overcomes harmful things that may be in the body and the spirit-like of the water washes them out of the body and they appear upon the skin like sweat and can be washed or wiped away. Thus, the vitality is strengthened and the body purified. If the vitalizing is a remedy for disease, medicines may be added to the water so that their potency, or spirit-like, may be released and enter the body, and there cause the desired effect.

The methods for vitalizing according to the customs of the Oglala are: A lodge is made by thrusting slender saplings into the ground in a circle,

the diameter of which is a little longer than the height of a tall man. The tops of these saplings are bent and bound together so as to form a dome-like support for a covering. This support is covered with robes so as to confine the vapor from boiling water, this vapor being the spirit-like of the water released. At any place on the border of the covering, except toward the north, an opening that may be tightly closed, should be made large enough so that a man can crawl through it. This is the *ini ti* or vitalizing lodge. The equipment necessary for vitalizing is:—

1. Heated stones.
2. Water.
3. A pipe.
4. Smoking material.

To these can be added such other equipment as may be required by the ceremony that is to be performed while vitalizing. One who is to vitalize should strip and crawl naked into the vitalizing lodge, taking with him the pipe and tobacco. Assistants, usually women, heat the stones in a fire near the lodge and, when the occupants are within, should bring the stones and pass them through the opening, then pass the water into the lodge and tightly close the opening. Those inside should place the hot stones at the center of the lodge and at intervals pour small quantities of water on them. This releases the spirit-like of the water and as it cannot escape upward, it must enter the bodies of those exposed to it. It is propitiated with smoke from the pipe and will stimulate the vitality. When it appears again upon the surface of the body, like sweat, it will have in it the harmful things that were in the body, and it should be wiped away, or better, it should be washed away, which is best done by plunging into water. One vitalizing in the simplest manner should sing an appropriate song while pouring the water on the hot stones. The time required for vitalizing in its simplest form may be as long as is required to smoke two pipefuls. A single person may vitalize alone, but as many as can get into the lodge may vitalize together. The process of vitalizing is elaborated to the purposes for which it is done and may be a complex ceremony supervised by a Shaman, and prolonged for a day and night or even longer.

When the Mentor has required the Candidate to vitalize, the Mentor, Candidate, and attendant should occupy the vitalizing lodge and the Mentor should take into the lodge his fetish and wisps of sage and sweetgrass and the assistants should pass coals of fire so that they may burn in the lodge. While vitalizing, the Shaman should first sprinkle bits of sage on the burning coals so as to make an incense and expel the evil powers from the lodge. Then he should sprinkle bits of sweetgrass on the coals, making an incense

that will propitiate the powers for good. While doing this, he should invoke his fetish, either in song or prayer, in order that its potency may aid him in what he is about to do. Having done these things, he should require the Candidate to seek a vision and instruct him as to the manner of his doing so, as follows:—

If an Oglala contemplates an important undertaking, he ought to seek a vision, and if he has the vision he should be governed according to the interpretation of it. To seek a vision one should strip and wear only a robe, a breechclout, and moccasins. Clothed thus, he should take a pipe, smoking materials, and a knife, and go to the top of a high place where others are not likely to intrude. There he should remove every living or growing thing from a space on the ground sufficiently large for him to sit or lie upon. Then he should go to this space and remain on it until he has a vision, or until he is convinced that he will have none. When he enters the cleared space, he should invoke the Four Winds in order that they may not bring inclement weather upon him. Then he should await a vision, meditating continuously upon his quest. He may invoke the gods, verbally or mentally, either in song or prayer. He may stand, sit, or lie awake or asleep, but he must not go away from the space he has prepared. He may smoke as often as he wishes, but he must neither drink nor eat while making the quest.

The vision may come to him, either when he is awake, or when he is asleep. It may appear in the form of anything that breathes or as some inanimate thing. If it communicates with him, it may speak intelligibly to him, or it may use words that he does not understand, or speak in the language of birds or beasts. By something that it says or does it will make known to him that it is the vision he seeks. He should wait for such a vision until he receives it, or until he is so exhausted that he can wait no longer without danger of losing his life. If he should receive a vision, he should return to his tipi singing a song of victory. If one seeks a vision and it is not granted to him, he should meekly come from the quest as privately as possible. If a vision appears to one in the form of a dog, a shore lark, a swallow, a night hawk, a frog, a lizard, or a dragon fly, it has been granted by *Wakinyan*, the Winged God, for these creatures are His *akivita*, or representatives, and when either of them speaks to one in a vision the one spoken to must become *heyoka* and ever afterwards speak and act anti-natural, or as a buffoon. A Candidate to dance the Sun Dance who receives a vision from *Wakinyan* must, during the ceremony in the dance lodge, act as a clown, and in every manner attempt to make the people laugh. He must appear to enjoy the tortures inflicted during the dance and should make sport of his fellow dancers.

One who seeks a vision and receives it, ought to consult a Shaman rela-

tive to an interpretation of it, even if the communication received in the vision is apparently intelligible and easily understood. If he is a Candidate to dance the Sun Dance, he must consult his Mentor, and be guided by him. It may be that the vision prohibits the Candidate from dancing the Sun Dance, and if so, he should proceed no further in the matter.

After the Candidate's quest of a vision, his Mentor should consecrate him, his tipi, implements, utensils, and apparel, in the following manner:—The Mentor should make an altar in the tipi of the Candidate, between the fireplace, which is at the center of the tipi, and the place of honor. An Oglala Shaman makes an altar by removing everything that breathes or grows from the space where the altar is to be. This should be done because the altar is a sacred thing which should have nothing in or upon it except that which may be an offering acceptable to the Gods. Any other thing that may touch this space while it is an altar should either be destroyed or purified in an incense of sage and then in one of sweetgrass. This space must be square, for the altar must have four sides of equal length, because each side pertains to one of the Four Winds and each of these must receive equal consideration in every respect.

The sides of the altar should be toward the west, the north, the east, and the south, so that one side will be toward the tipi of each of the Four Winds. The sides should measure not less than four hand breadths, nor more than the height of a man. They may vary anywhere between these extremes. The smallest altars should be made in tipis and the largest in the Sun Dance Lodge. At each angle of this square, a pointed space should project halfway between two of the directions. These are the horns of the altar that guard it against all malevolent beings. The square space and horns should be dug to the depth of a finger length and the loosened soil removed and freed from everything. Then it should be pulverized, replaced, and made level. The one who replaces and levels the soil should utter an appropriate invocation, or sing an appropriate song, or both, for in this manner the altar is consecrated to the purposes for which it is made. The Mentor should place on the altar in the tipi of the Candidate, a buffalo skull with the horns attached, so that the nostril cavities will face towards the place of honor. He should then decorate this skull with stripes of red paint, one across the forehead and one lengthwise on each side of the skull; at the same time, he should paint a red stripe across the forehead of the Candidate. The stripes across the forehead indicate that the Buffalo God has adopted the Candidate as a *hunka*, or relative by ceremony. The red stripes on the sides of the skull indicate that the Buffalo God will give especial protection to the Candidate. The horns of the skull should be adorned with any ornaments that the Candidate may apply. Then the Mentor should

fill and light a pipe and he and the Candidate should smoke it in communion, alternately blowing the smoke into the nostril cavities of the skull, thus smoking in communion with the Buffalo God. This should be done in order that the potency of the pipe may harmonize all those communing.

When this rite is completed the Mentor should instruct the Candidate that this altar should be maintained in his tipi until he enters the Sacred Lodge in the ceremonial camp; that anything placed upon the altar must be considered an offering to the Gods; that he should so place a portion of each thing he eats or drinks in the tipi; that others may also do so; that no one should touch the altar, or anything upon it, except those whose hands are painted red; and that no one should step over the altar or pass between it and the place of honor if this can be avoided. This is because the altar is a sacred place occupied by the potency of the God, the Buffalo, and should be revered as the God is revered. Also, that if anything of any kind should otherwise come upon this altar it should be removed and be destroyed or purified in the incense of sage and then of sweetgrass.

When the altar and instructions are completed, the Mentor should prepare a meditation couch for the Candidate by making a bed of sage at the rear, outside the tipi and projecting from it, and should instruct him to occupy this bed most of the time when not with his Mentor, meditating on his preparation for the Sun Dance. This bed should be made of sage because this herb is pleasing to the Benevolent Gods and repulsive to all malevolent beings; therefore, it will keep all harmful things and thoughts from one occupying a bed made of it. When the sage bed is prepared the Mentor should place the Candidate's cedar tree, or rack. This should be of cedar because the cedar is favored by *Wakinyan*, the Winged God, and he will not visit one protected by it, nor cause such a one to act foolishly. The bark should be taken from it and its larger end should be as large as a man's leg. It should be long enough so that when fixed upright in the ground it will be as high as a man's shoulders. It should have portions of branches left on it so that they will be convenient prongs for hanging articles. The Mentor should paint it red and fix it upright in the ground at the foot of the bed of sage and instruct the Candidate to place all his implements of war and the chase on it and keep them there until after he has danced the Sun Dance. He also instructs him that if he dances the Sun Dance to its completion he will be entitled to place such a rack beside his tipi during the remainder of his life; that anything placed upon such a rack is taboo to all of mankind, except the owner of the rack; that while he is a candidate, things placed upon this rack by others thereby become offerings to the Sun and so are his property; that friends wishing to give presents to him as a Candidate should place such presents on this rack. When the rack has been placed, if the Mentor is a Shaman, he should consecrate the person of the Candidate.

If he is not a Shaman, he should employ a Shaman to do this in the following manner:—

In his tipi the Candidate should strip and sit beside the altar facing the Shaman who should sit at the place of honor. The attendant should fill and light a pipe and offer it to the Shaman, and he, the Mentor, Candidate, and Attendant smoke in communion. Then, while the attendant sounds either the drum or rattles, the Shaman should paint the Candidate's hands red, meanwhile singing an appropriate song or making an appropriate invocation. He should then instruct the Candidate that the sacred color, red, upon the hands sanctifies them so that they may handle sacred things; that while he is a Candidate his hands should be painted red; and if he dances the Sun Dance to completion he will be entitled to paint his hands red at any time during the remainder of his life. Then he should braid wisps of sweetgrass into the semblance of a scalplock, bind it with red, give it to the Candidate, and instruct him that if he dances the Sun Dance to its completion he will be entitled to attach such a braid of sweetgrass to his person or implements at any time during his life; that such a braid will insure the favor of the Feminine God to one who rightfully possesses it. Then the Shaman should paint in red on the chest of the Candidate a design which he has devised and instruct him that if he completes his undertaking, this design will become his insignum indicating that he has danced, the second, third, or fourth form of the Sun Dance to completion; and that he will be entitled to place it on his person or property and use it as his signature. When the person of the Candidate has been thus consecrated, his clothing, implements, and utensils should be incensed with sage while the Shaman utters or sings an appropriate invocation which will consecrate them. The things thus consecrated must be used by none other than the Candidate until after the Sun Dance is danced.

When these consecrations are completed, the Mentor should teach the Candidate the invariable rules that should govern a Candidate to dance the second, third, or fourth form of the Sun Dance. These are:—

1. He must subordinate himself to his Mentor.
  2. He must mediate continually upon his undertaking.
  3. He must speak little with others than his Mentor.
  4. He must use only his consecrated implements and utensils.
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1. He must not become angry.
  2. He must not hear ribald speech.
  3. He must not go into the water.
  4. He must not have sexual intercourse.

If a Candidate disregards any of these rules, he must do such penance as his Mentor may prescribe before he can proceed with his undertaking.

## INSTRUCTION OF A SHAMAN.

When these preliminary formalities have been fulfilled in this manner, the Candidate is thereby prepared to receive the instructions that should be given him to fit him to dance either of the last three forms of the Sun Dance, also for the purpose of his undertaking. If his purpose is to become a Shaman, he should be informed that as a Shaman the people will consider that he is endowed with a knowledge of the laws and customs of the Lakota and supernatural wisdom; that he can communicate with supernatural beings and interpret Their wills; that he will have supervisory authority over all ceremonies; and that if he knows the will of a supernatural being to be that any law, customs, or ceremony be altered or prohibited, he should act according to such will. He should also be informed that the people will hold him to strict account for his action as a Shaman, and if they find that he exercises his authority only to gratify his own desires, the *akicita*, or marshals of the camp, may adjudge and punish him according to his offense, even to the taking of his life. If, in the exercise of his authority or attributes as a Shaman he wrongfully injures another, the one injured may exact from him a satisfaction for the injury, which might be to take his life. After receiving this information, if he persists in his desire to become a Shaman, he should be instructed so that he may have a knowledge of the following matters before he dances:—

The Lakotapi are the original people, superior to all others of mankind, and it is a matter of grace on their part to concede rights of any kind to any other people. Long ago, they were one tribe and made their winter camp in the region of the pines near the Sacred Lake, maintaining but one council fire. Bands wandered far away, making winter camps and maintaining council fires elsewhere, thus becoming independent tribes. Seven tribes were formed in this manner, which, at one time, encamped together in a formal camp circle, each maintaining its own council fire. This time is known as "The Time of the Seven Great Council Fires," and is the beginning of an era for the Lakotapi. These tribes recognize each other as kindred peoples having like laws and customs.

According to their customs, when two or more tribes encamp together, the ranking tribe takes precedence by placing its camp at the chief place in the camp circle, which is opposite the entrance to the circle and other tribes should place their camps in the circle next from the chief place in the order of their precedence. At first, the order of precedence was according to the age of a tribe, counting from the time when it first made its council fire. Thus, the tribe that made its winter camp near the Sacred Lake had

the chief place in a camp circle of the Lakotapi. But the tribe that made its winter camp on the plains became the most powerful, usurped the chief place, and has held it. This tribe is the Teton, who are a haughty people who arrogate for themselves the name Lakota, as a distinction from the other Lakotapi. After the manner of the original seven tribes, the Teton were divided into seven subtribes, which when encamped together observe the customs that govern the formation of a camp circle of the tribes. At first, another subtribe had the precedence, but the Oglala became the most powerful and usurped it and holds it. Thus, in a formal camp circle of any or all of the Lakotapi, the Oglala would take precedence and place its camp at the chief place. For this reason, the Oglala are the chief people of the original peoples, and are superior to all mankind. Therefore, in a conflict of laws, customs, or ceremonies, those of the Oglala should prevail.

The Oglala are divided into a number of bands, each of which is called a camp, and is known by the name of its chief. An Oglala band consists of a number of families organized so as to form a camp with a council fire as a symbol of its autonomy. When different bands encamp together, the oldest, counting from the time when it first maintained a council fire, takes precedence and maintains its council fire. The other bands place their camps in the circle according to their age, but they hold their organization in abeyance while in the circle and do not make a council fire.

A camp is organized when it has a chief, a council, a magistrate, a herald, and marshals, and maintains a council fire. It ought to have a council lodge and may have a dancing lodge. Members of the band may be members of military societies and while such are controlled as militia by the societies they must aid in maintaining the organization of the camp.

A camp may be organized by any number of any persons who erect a sufficient number of tipis so that there may be men enough to form the organization. There should not be less than seven tipis in a camp and there may be as many more as the organization will permit. Only husbanded tipis are counted when estimating the size or strength of a camp, a husbanded tipi being one in which dwells a husband and wife; if a man has more than one wife who erects a tipi, all such are counted as one tipi only. Anyone may become a member of a band by encamping with it and expressing a wish to belong to it. Thus, a popular band may have an indefinite number of members and become powerful. Anyone may withdraw from a band by simply saying he does not wish to be counted as a member. Thus, an unpopular band may dwindle until it has not enough tipis to maintain an organized camp and then it is no longer recognized as a band. The members of a band are entitled to the force of the entire band in the protection of their rights and they must obey the laws and customs of the Oglala and the edicts of their council.

Any member may present any matter for the consideration of the council, except matters authorized by a Shaman and may speak before the council relative to any matter it may have under consideration. A member may be suspended by the council when he must place his tipi outside the camp circle. When a tipi is thus placed its inhabitants are barred from all communal privileges, but are entitled to the protection of the band. When a member is expelled by the council, he must not place his tipi near the encampment of the band from which he is expelled and the inhabitants of his tipi are not entitled to protection by this band. A Shaman may give advice relative to the standing of any member of a band or relative to the exemption of any member from the operation of any edict by the council and his advice should be heeded. He may taboo anyone and relief from such taboo or ban can be had only by act of the council approved by a Shaman.

The first chief of a band is he who has sufficient following to organize a camp. His tenure of office is for life, but he may be deposed by the council. The succession of chieftainship is hereditary, but the heir may be debarred by the council. If a vacancy in the chieftainship occurs with no heir-apparent, the council should choose a chief. One who has sufficient following can usurp the chieftainship. A chief is acknowledged by the band when at a formal meeting of the council he is invited to sit at the chief place and an influential councilor fills and lights a pipe and offers it to him and he and the councilors smoke it in communion. The chief is the administrator of, and entitled to precedence in, all the communal affairs of the band, and is the commander of all that pertains to war. When on a foray he is entitled to the largest personal share of the booty and always entitled to the largest personal share of the products of a communal hunt or chase. He may command the marshals to do anything, and if the command accords with the laws or customs of the Oglala, or the edicts of the council, they should obey him, but they should judge the propriety of the command. Like any other member of the band, he is subject to judgment and punishment by the marshals. He may adopt any device he chooses as the insignum of his chieftaincy. Usually, this is made of the quills from the tail of the golden eagle. He may have such other insignia as he is entitled to, like other members of the band. A Shaman may make taboo for him anything that is a perquisite of his chieftainship and such a ban can be removed only by the council acting on the advice of a Shaman.

The council of the camp is composed of men who are accepted as councilors because they customarily assemble in formal circle about the council fire to consider matters of common interest to the band. It usually consists of the chief and elderly men of good repute, knowledge, and experience, though any renowned man may sit in the council, and if the councilors give

heed to his speeches or ask his views upon matters they are considering, he thereby becomes a councilor. Any councilor may cease to be such by not sitting in the circle about the council fire. A Shaman may taboo the councilorship for any member of the band. The duties of the council are to consider and decide upon all matters of common interest to the band; to issue such edicts as they see fit; to command the herald to make such proclamations as they desire; and to hear and decide upon appeals from the judgments of the marshals. A Shaman can act only as advisor of the council. The council must appoint the herald and the marshals of the camp, but each councilor is subject to the discipline of the marshals in the same manner as are all other members of the band. The only perquisites of the councilorship are the honors of being a councilor. An act of the council is accepted when it is not opposed by councilors who have a sufficient following of members to enforce their opposition.

The *wakiconze*, or magistrate, of the camp, is one who acts as such by common consent of the band. He should be a *mihunka*, that is, an elderly man who has the respect and confidence of the people. When the band is encamped his duties are to decide upon all disputed points in friendly controversies, contests, or games; and to give advice when such is needed or requested. The magistrate may be a Shaman, the chief, a councilor, or a marshal, and if he is either of these, when applicable, he should first act as magistrate and then in his other capacity. When the band makes a peaceful journey, the magistrate has entire command and the duties of other officers of the camp are held in abeyance from the time the tipis are taken down for the move, until they are erected in an encampment. His duties then are to appoint marshals of the movement; to select the route; to order the halts for refreshment; to select the places for temporary encampment; and to provide against surprise by an enemy during movement. It is customary for him to appoint the marshals of the camp as marshals of the movement, but he may appoint any others as such. Their duties are to enforce the customs that govern a band when making a movement and to carry out such instructions as the magistrate may give. The most important of these should be that some of the marshals shall go in advance and far at both sides of the route as scouts watching for game or an enemy, and if signs of either are seen, to signal by smoke. When such a signal is seen the magistrate should immediately order a temporary encampment and when it is made his authority ceases until the movement is again resumed. If the journey is to be to and from a place, as for instance, to a ceremony or to make a formal visit to another band, the appointments made by the magistrate do not terminate until that journey is complete, no difference how long the intervals of the movement may be.

The herald is a marshal, usually selected because his voice is full and deep-toned. His badge of office is a willow wand about four forearm lengths long, forked at its smaller end, and peeled and dried. The tips of the forks are ornamented with dangling smaller quills from the wing of a golden eagle and may be ornamented in any other manner the herald chooses. The insignum of his office is the same as that of other marshals. He may wear such other insignia as he is entitled to have. He may exercise all the duties of a marshal, but ordinarily only the duties of a herald are required of him. These are to proclaim to the camp matters of common interest, or that any member wishes to make known by the band; to summon councilors to assemble and persons to appear before the council; to supervise making and maintaining a council fire, the erection and care of a council lodge; and to herald the approach of a band or of visitors.

The appointment of a marshal is a formality that should be accomplished by the council in the following manner. The council may appoint any number of marshals for it manifests an honor regarded as little less than that of being a chief or a renowned warrior. Anyone may nominate any man who is physically fit for appointment as a marshal. The council should consider any such nomination and accept or reject it. If the nomination is accepted, the council should hold it for one or more intervals of its assemblage and consider such electioneering as the band may do. Then it may agree to reject or accept the nominee. If the council accepts the nominee it should direct the herald to summon him to appear before it to be appointed a marshal. This the herald should do by public proclamation so that the nominee may be either absent or present in his tipi when the herald goes there, for if he is then absent, it is considered that he refuses the nomination; if he is present, that he accepts it. After giving the nominee sufficient time to locate himself, the herald, accompanied by a marshal, should go to the tipi of the nominee and examine it, and if the nominee is there he should paint a perpendicular black stripe on the door flap of the tipi. Then the marshal should enter the tipi, grasp the nominee by his arm, and so conduct him into the presence of the council. In the meantime, the council should invite a Shaman to sit at the chief place in the circle. The herald should announce to the council the presence of the nominee and then the Shaman should invite the nominee to sit between the chief place and the council fire. When he is thus seated the Shaman should fill and light a pipe and offer it to the nominee who should smoke and pass it, so that he and the council men may smoke in communion. When this rite is ended, the Shaman should inform the nominee that he is about to be appointed a marshal and instruct him relative to his functions as such, in substance as follows:—

The duties of a marshal are to enforce compliance with the laws, customs, and usages of the Oglala, and the edicts of the council; they are authorized to adjudge infractions; to determine disagreements and disorders; and to inflict penalties even to that of death. They may act individually or collectively, as they choose. They are subordinate to no official and appeals from their judgments may be made only to the council which may adjudge their decisions justifiable or unjustifiable. In the exercise of his functions, a marshal is liable for misconduct or neglect, but only to the marshals, who may adjudge him and inflict such penalties as they deem proper, but the penalties should always be greater than those inflicted upon others for like offenses. Anyone may plead relative to a cause and a marshal should hear and heed such pleas. A Shaman may advise a marshal relative to his functions and such advice should be duly considered.

When the Shaman thinks the nominee understands the functions of a marshal he should inform him that he was nominated a marshal and had signified an acceptance of the nomination and that thereupon he was so appointed, as attested by the herald placing the black stripe on his door flap which he is entitled to have there while he is marshal. Then the Shaman should paint a black stripe on the marshal's right cheek, from the outer corner of the eye to the lower edge of the jaw, and inform him that a black stripe so placed on the face is the insignum of a marshal, and is recognized by the people as a sufficient warrant of office.

This ends the formality of appointing a marshal; but it is expected that the new marshal will give a feast to celebrate the occasion. The council may appoint temporary marshals without ceremony. But such are subordinate to the council, have no authority other than that of a policeman, and should be displaced by regularly appointed marshals at the earliest opportunity. The council may appoint marshals for special purposes with no ceremony other than instructions relative to these purposes. Such marshals have no functions other than those necessary for the accomplishment of that for which they were appointed; when that is accomplished and the council so informed, their appointments terminate. A Shaman may advise relative to the appointment of marshals without ceremony, but such is all that he should have to do with the acts of the council in such appointments.

A band, when encamped together, should make the formal camp circle by placing their tipis so as to enclose a circular space, leaving a small vacant space in the circle. The tipis so placed form the camp circle, the vacant space is the entrance, and the enclosed space, the area, while that part of the circle opposite the entrance is the chief place. The entrance should be at the east side of the circle and the parts of the circle that abut on it

are the horns of the camp circle. The tipis should be so placed that their doors will be toward the center of the area and in the order of precedence of their occupants. The tipi of the chief should be at the chief place and those of prominent men next to the chief place in the order of their accepted standing, except that the tipis at the horns are considered guards of the entrance and places of honor, usually those of tried warriors. The council lodge should be erected on the area with its door toward the chief place and usually is placed near the tipi of the chief. If there is a dance or ceremonial lodge or enclosure of any kind, it should be placed at the center of the area with its entrance toward the south. A society may erect its lodge on the area any place it chooses, except at the center. Structures of any kind, to be used only by their owners for purposes other than habitation, must be placed outside the camp circle, such, for instance, as menstrual lodges, vitalizing lodges, etc. The marshals may compel anyone to place his tipi outside the camp circle and this is an ostracism. A *heyoka* must place the door of his tipi so that it will not be towards the center of the area. The marshals should assign to visitors places in the circle for their tipis, relative to the chief place according to their importance. A Shaman may place his tipi where he chooses, except at the chief place, and he may determine the location of anything placed on the area. He may taboo, restricted or unlimited, any person or tipi in the circle.

When two or more bands camp together and become as one band, the tipis of the members of different bands do not intermingle, but are grouped so that members of a band may have their tipis together. If there are a number of bands so encamped that it is practicable, these groups are entire bands, placed in the circle relative to the chief place in the order of precedence of the bands. A Shaman should know this order of precedence, for he should control the establishment and organization of a ceremonial camp, as will appear when describing the establishment of a camp for dancing the Sun Dance.

#### SECRET INSTRUCTIONS FOR A SHAMAN.

When the Mentor is satisfied that the Candidate understands the social customs of the Oglala sufficiently well to know when a Shaman may, or may not, interfere with them, he should then instruct him relative to the doctrines and ceremonials pertaining to the Gods. Some of these are known to the people, but most of them are known only by the Shamans and they hide these in a ceremonial language known only by them. This language is made up of common words to which an esoteric meaning is given and of strange words that are known only by the Shamans. The sacred mysteries

are thus hidden from the people because they are unfitted to know them. But one who is to become a Shaman should be instructed relative to these mysteries, in substance as follows: —

The Supernatural is *Wakan Tanka*, or the Great Mystery that no one of mankind can comprehend. It may be pleased or displeased by the conduct of any one of mankind. It may be propitiated or placated by a proper ceremony correctly performed. Its aid may be secured by appropriate sacrifice. Therefore, it is the Great God.

This Great God communicates with mankind through various media and in various manners. The chosen medium is a *Wicasa Wakan*, or Shaman. Other media are called *Akicita Wakan*, or Sacred Messengers. A Sacred Messenger may be anything animate or inanimate, other than mankind, which makes itself known as such. It may be either permanent or temporary. A permanent messenger is one that is always the medium of communication from a certain God. A temporary Sacred Messenger is such only during one communication and may be the medium for any God other than those who have permanent messengers. A communication from a God may be either unsolicited or solicited. An unsolicited communication is transmitted through a Shaman. Solicited communications are granted through the Sacred Messengers. These may be either intelligible or unintelligible to the recipient, and if unintelligible, they should be interpreted by a Shaman.

The Shamans should teach these doctrines to the people and exhort them to practise the four great virtues which, named in the order of their importance, are: —

1. Bravery.
2. Fortitude.
3. Generosity.
4. Fidelity.

The doctrines which only the Shamans know are these: —

*Wakan Tanka* is one, yet It is many who are: —

*Wakan Tanka Waste*, the Benevolent Gods.

*Wakan Tanka Sica*, the Malevolent Gods.

The Benevolent Gods are of two kinds who are: —

*Wakan Kin*, the Gods.

*Taku Wakan*, Gods Kindred.

The Gods are of two classes which are: —

*Wakan Ankantu*, the Superior Gods.

*Wakan Kolaya*, the Associate Gods.

The Gods Kindred are of two classes which are: —

*Wakan Kuya*, the Subordinate Gods.

*Wakanlapi*, the Gods-like.

Each of these four classes consists of four individuals as follows: —

The individuals of the Superior Gods: —

*Wi*, the Sun, the Chief of the Gods.

*Skan*, the Sky, the Great Spirit.

*Maka*, the Earth, the All-mother.

*Inyan*, the Rock, the All-father.

The individuals of the Associate Gods: —

*Hanwi*, the Moon, the Associate of *Wi*.

*Tale*, the Wind, the Associate of *Skan*.

*Wohpe*, the Feminine, the Associate of *Maka*.

*Wakinyan*, the Winged God, the Associate of *Inyan*.

The individuals of the Subordinate Gods: —

*Tatanka*, the Buffalo God.

*Hunonpa*, the Bear God.

*Taletob*, the Four Winds.

*Yumni*, the Whirlwind.

The individuals of the Gods-like: —

*Nagi*, the Spirit.

*Niya*, the Ghost.

*Nagila*, the Spirit-like.

*Sicun*, the imparted Supernatural Potency.

The following are four individuals, but they should be considered as only one, the Chief God: —

The Sun.

The Moon.

The Buffalo.

The Spirit.

The following are four individuals, but they should be considered as only one the Great Spirit: —

The Sky.

The Wind.

The Bear.

The Ghost.

The following are four individuals, but they should be considered as only one, the Creator God: —

The Earth.

The Feminine.

The Four Winds.

The Spirit-like.

The following are four individuals, but they should be considered as only one, the Executive God: —

- The Rock.
- The Winged.
- The Whirlwind.
- The Potency.

The following are but as one, and that One is *Wakan Tanka*, the Great Mysterious: —

- The Chief God.
- The Great Spirit.
- The Creator.
- The Executive.

The individualities of the Great Mysterious have properties that may be described as follows: —

Except for the Four Winds, They had no beginning, though some were before others and some bear the relation of parent and offspring. This is *akan*, for no one of mankind can comprehend it. They will have no end.

The Sun is a material God whose substance is always visible and He ranks first among the Superior Gods, though the other three were before He was. He may be addressed as the Great God, the Revered One, or Our Father. His domain is the spirit world and the regions under the world. His will prevails though the Wind thwart his purposes. The Sky gave Him His power and can withhold it, but he is more powerful than the Sky. Daily He makes His journey above the domain of the Sky and at night He rests with His people in the regions under the world and there communes with his comrade, the Buffalo. He is the patron of the four great virtues, but is indifferent to small affairs. His favor may be secured by appropriate offerings and ceremonies and He may grant a communication to one who dances the Sun Dance. His potency abides in fire and cannot be imparted to any other thing. His symbolic color is red and because He is the Chief of the Gods, red is the sacred color.

The Sky is an immaterial God whose substance is never visible. He ranks second among the Superior Gods. His titles given by the people are *Taku Skan-skan* and *Nagi Tanka*, or the Great Spirit, and those given by the Shamans are *Skan* and *To*, or blue. The concept expressed by the term *Taku Skan-skan* is that which gives motion to anything that moves. That expressed by the Shamans by the word, *Skan*, is a vague concept of force or energy and by the word, *To*, is the immaterial blue of the sky which symbolizes the presence of the Great Spirit. His domain is all above the world beginning at the ground. He is the source of all power and motion and is the patron of directions and trails and of encampment. He imparts

to each of mankind at birth a spirit, a ghost, and a *sicun*, and at the death of each of mankind He hears the testimony of the ghost and adjudges the spirit. He may sit in judgment on other Gods. His word is unalterable, except by Himself. He only can undo that which is done. His people are the stars and the Feminine is His daughter. His potency can be imparted only to mysterious things and by much ceremony correctly performed by wise Shamans. The Fetish that has His potency can prevail in all things. Only Shamans may have such a Fetish. His symbolic color is blue.

The Earth is a material God, whose substance is always visible. She ranks third of the Superior Gods, though she existed next after the first in existence. She is most often addressed as the All-mother, for She is an ancestor of all material things, except the Rock. Her domain is the world and She is the patron of all things that grow from the ground, of drink and food, and the tipi. Her potency may be imparted to anything that has grown from the ground. Her symbolic color is green.

The Rock is a material God whose substance may always be seen. He ranks fourth of the Superior Gods, but existed first of all. He is most often addressed as the All-father, for He is the ancestor of all things and all the Gods. The All-father and the All-mother never were related as husband and wife and neither has a child by the other. The Rock is the father of *Iktomi*, whose other parent is the Winged God, and the father of *Iya*, or *Ibom*, the Great God of Evil, whose other parent is an *Unktehi*, or one of the Monsters.

The domain of the Rock is the mountains; but His authority extends through all the domain of the Earth. He is the patron of authority and vengeance, of construction and destruction, and of implements and utensils. His potency can be imparted to anything that is hard as stone. His symbolic color is yellow.

The symbolic colors of the four Superior Gods, red, blue, green, and yellow, are sacred, when applied by a Shaman with ceremony and each symbolizes the God to which it pertains. If red alone is ceremonially applied, it signifies consecration. Black is also a ceremonial color, its significance being intensity of emotion or firmness of purpose.

The Moon is a material God whose substance is visible or partly invisible, as She wills. She governs the third time, which is a moon, and combats *Anog Ite*, the double-woman, who incites contention. She has no domain and Her potency cannot be imparted to anything. She fixes the time for the more important undertakings of mankind but She is indifferent to ceremonies and cannot be influenced by them.

*Tate* is an immaterial God whose substance is never visible, for He is

as a Spirit. He is the father of the Four Winds whose mother is *Anog Ite*. He governs the fourth time, which is a year, and the coming and going of the four seasons. He abides at the entrance of the spirit trail and hides it from mankind. He admits or excludes spirits from this entrance, according to the judgment of the Great Spirit, *Skan*. He cannot be influenced by sacrifice or ceremony and His potency cannot be imparted to anything.

The Feminine is a material God whose substance may be visible or invisible as She wills. She is most often addressed as the Woman, the Beautiful One, or the Gracious One. She is the daughter of *Skan*, the Sky, and is of the star people. She abides in the tipi of *Okaga*, the South Wind, and is His associate. Her potency, which cannot be imparted to anything, is in the smoke of the pipe and the smoke of sweetgrass. Her functions are to harmonize and are effective when the pipe is smoked or sweetgrass burned. She is a mediator between the Gods, between the Gods and mankind, and between mankind. She is the protector of chastity and of little children and the patron of adornment and pleasure. She should be invoked in every ceremony and there has precedence over all the Gods.

*Wakinyan* is a material God whose substance is visible only when He so wills. His properties are *akan* and anti-natural. He abides in his lodge on the top of the mountain at the edge of the world where the Sun goes down to the regions under the world. He is many, but they are as only one; he is shapeless, but has wings with four joints each; he has no feet, yet he has huge talons; he has no head, yet has a huge beak with rows of teeth in it, like the teeth of the wolf; his voice is the thunder clap and rolling thunder is caused by the beating of His wings on the clouds; he has an eye, and its glance is lightning. In a great cedar tree beside His lodge He has His nest made of dry bones, and in it is an enormous egg from which His young continuously issue. He devours His young and they each become one of His many selves. He had issue by the Rock and it was *Iktomi*, the oldest son of the Rock. He flies through all the domain of the Sky, hidden in a robe of clouds, and if one of mankind sees His substance he is thereby made a *heyoka*, and must ever afterwards speak and act clownishly in an anti-natural manner. Yet, if He so wills, He may appear to mankind in the form of a giant man, and if so, He is then the God, Heyoka. One who looks upon the God, Heyoka, is not thereby made a *heyoka*. The potency of the Winged God cannot be imparted to anything. His functions are to cleanse the world from filth and to fight the Monsters who defile the waters and to cause all increase by growth from the ground.

The acceptable manner of addressing Him is by taunt and villification, the opposite of the intent of the address. He may be visualized as a bird whose wings have four joints. His symbol is a zigzag red line forked at

each end. His *akicita* are the dog, swallow, snowbird, night hawk, lizard, frog, and dragon fly, and if either of these is seen in a vision the one to whom it appears is thereby made a *heyoka*.

The Buffalo is a material God whose substance is visible only when He so wills. His form is that of a great beast, but he may appear to mankind as a man. He abides with the buffalo people in the regions under the world, and roams throughout all the domain of the Earth. He is the patron of sexual relations, generosity, industry, fecundity, and ceremonies. He is the protector of maidens and of the very old. He is the comrade of the Sun and in ceremonies pertaining to the Sun, His potency prevails. He controls the chase and gives or withholds success to hunters. His potency abides in the skull of the animal buffalo and can be imparted to anything that has been a part of a buffalo.

The Bear is a material God, whose substance is invisible at His will. He may appear to mankind as a huge bear, or as a very old man. He is the patron of wisdom, medicine, and magic. Those who would know the lore of the Lakota should have His aid. His potency can be imparted to anything that is strange or unusual.

The Four Winds is an immaterial God, whose substance is never visible. He is *akan* and therefore no one of mankind can comprehend him. While He is one God, He is four individuals:—

He may be addressed as the Four, or, the Four Quarters, or, as the Wind of the Four Directions, or as the Sons. They are the sons of *Tate* and their mother is *Anog Ité*. They were born at one birth, but *Yata* came first. *Eya*, the second-born, displaced *Yata* and holds the birthright of the first-born. *Yanpa* was third born and *Okaga* the last-born son. They have their tipis at the edge of the world, that of *Eya* on the mountain beside the lodge of the Winged God; that of *Yata* under the stars that never come down to the edge of the world; that of *Yanpa* where the Sun begins His daily journey over the world; that of *Okaga* is under where the Sun pauses at midday when His journey is half done. They do not abide in these tipis, for they are continually traveling on the trail that circles the edge of the world, and where they are, or whence they may come, no man can tell. In ceremonies, they should be addressed as the one God, the Four Winds, and have precedence over all the Gods, except *Wohpe*, the Feminine. They are jealous of their precedence and of that among themselves. In every ceremony of importance they should be invoked after the Feminine, in the following manner:—

1. *Eya*, the West Wind.
2. *Yata*, the North Wind.
3. *Yanpa*, the East Wind.
4. *Okaga*, the South Wind.

The lighted pipe should be elevated with its mouthpiece toward the tipi of *Eya* and carried so that the mouthpiece, pointing toward the edge of the world, circles until it points toward the tipi of *Yata*, where it should be held for an instant, then carried in the same manner until it points toward the tipi of *Yanpa*, and held there an instant; then it should be carried in the same manner and held an instant toward the tipi of *Okaga*; thence in the same manner until it returns toward the tipi of *Yata*. Thus, the potency of the Feminine is tendered in the proper order of precedence to each and all of the Four Winds. While the Four travels continually on the trail around the edge of the world, when He comes on the world, that individual of himself that prevails will give the direction from which He comes. As the four sons of *Tate*, the Wind, they established the four directions on the world and then, by the decree of Their father, were to travel forever on the trail around at the edge of the world. Each such completion from beginning to end is the fourth time, or, a year. Therefore, a circle is an emblem of all four of the units of time, each of which, day, night, moon, and year, goes in a circle. While they are one as a God, as the sons of *Tate*, they are four individuals. The personality of these individuals differs each from the other. *Eya* is a burly, boisterous God. He is the associate of the Winged God and accompanies Him when He flies through the domain of the Sky and aids Him in cleansing the world. *Eya* is reckless and often does His work harshly, when He prevails and sweeps the world. His *akicita* is the hawk. *Yata* is a strong, cold, and surly God. He is forever contesting with *Okaga*, because He desired to have *Wohpe*, the Feminine, as His own, but *Okaga* won Her as His companion. Because of His surly selfishness He was deposed from the birthright of the first-born son and it was given to *Eya*. His *akicita* is the magpie. *Yanpa* is an indolent God whose *akicita* is the crow. *Okaga* is a pleasing God and when He prevails all things rejoice. The Feminine, *Wohpe*, dwells in His tipi and is His companion, often traveling with Him. The little son of *Tate*, the Whirlwind, also dwells in the tipi of *Okaga*, and comes forth only when *Okaga* prevails, for He fears *Yata*. The *akicita* of *Okaga* are all the waterfowls. The functions of the God, the Four Winds, are to be the messengers of *Skan*, the Great Spirit, and of *Tate*, their father, and to control the weather.

*Yumni* is a merry God. He is the little son of *Tate* and his mother is *Anog Ite*, but because of a curse placed upon her, he was not born as other children are, and for this reason He remains little, and is not counted with the other sons of *Tate*, who are counted as His four sons and *Yumni* as His little son. *Wohpe* taught *Yumni* all the sports and games and gave him control over them, so that He is the patron of all gambling, friendly contests, sports, games, and courtship. He has no *akicita* and never appears

in a vision. His potency may be imparted to any implements for sport or games and to philters by *wicasa hmunga*, or wizards.

The *Wakanlapi* are immaterial Gods that abide or have abided in material things. While there are four kinds there are many of each kind. But all of each kind should be considered as only one when considering them as Gods.

*Nagi*, the Spirit, is an immaterial God whose substance may be visible at its will and who can communicate with mankind, directly or through the medium of a Shaman. *Skan* imparts a spirit to each of mankind at birth. It abides with its recipient until death, controlling the disposition and actions of the person. At death, it leaves the body, but lingers near the haunts of the person, awaiting its endowment for the spirit world. When it is thus endowed it appears before *Skan* for judgment, and, if adjudged worthy, *Tate* admits it through the entrance to the spirit trail, on which it travels to the spirit world. When it is there it is allotted a place according to its endowment and then it becomes the Spirit.

A spirit is endowed with the *nagila*, or spirit-like, of things in the following manner: — One who wishes to contribute to the endowment abandons the thing to be contributed, in the name of the deceased, when the spirit-like of the thing becomes the possession of the spirit. The material of the things thus abandoned is taboo to those who abandon them and becomes the property of any others who may take them. Thus, the family of a deceased man may abandon all their possessions, endowing his spirit with them, for by so doing, the spirit-like of these things is taken by his spirit to the spirit land, and if the spirits of those who contribute arrive there, they will enjoy these things in the spirit world. If the deceased has killed an enemy and taken his scalp, he has thereby gained control of the spirit of the enemy whose spirit cannot enter on the spirit trail until the one who controls it does so and even then it must serve the controlling spirit to the end of the trail. If a spirit is adjudged by *Skan* as unworthy to go on the spirit trail, it thereby becomes a *sicun*, or wandering spirit, and must wander over the world until *Tate* deems it fitted, when He may permit it to pass through the entrance. Such wandering spirits can communicate with mankind, but their communications are uncertain and not to be relied upon. They often serve *Anog Ite*, whisper malicious things to tattling women, or excite men to jealousy. They may become the familiars of the very old and do their bidding.

The *Niya* is an immaterial god whose substance is visible when It so wills. A *niya* is imparted by *Skan* to each of mankind at birth and abides with the person like a shadow until death, when it lingers with the spirit until the latter goes before *Skan* for judgment. Then it appears to testify regarding

the conduct of the spirit and upon its testimony the spirit is adjudged. When *Skan* has given judgment, the ghost returns whence it came and is no more. Its functions during the life of the person are to cause vitality, to forewarn of good and evil, and to give the power to influence others. When it departs from the body, this is death, though it may depart and return again if the spirit has not left the body.

The *Nagiya* is an immaterial God whose substance may at will be seen in any form it chooses to appear. As separate individuals they are the immaterial selves of material things other than mankind. A *nagiya* is imparted by *Skan* to each thing at its beginning, remains with it until it ceases to be, and then returns whence it came. It can be with the thing and separate from it at the same time, as for instance, when it is with the thing it may at the same time have been given in the endowment of a spirit and taken to the spirit world. It may possess any other thing; for instance, the *nagiya* of the wolf may possess a tree, when the tree will have the nature of a wolf; or, it may possess one of mankind, for example, the *nagiya* of a bear may possess a man when the man will have the nature of a bear. By proper ceremony, its potency can be imparted to inanimate things, as, the potency of the *nagiya* of a poison herb may be imparted to powdered clay, or, the potency of a medicinal thing may be imparted to one of mankind. A thing may be caused by its *nagiya* to speak or act in a supernatural manner and to communicate with mankind.

The *Sicun* is an immaterial God whose substance is never visible. It is the potency of mankind and the emitted potency of the Gods. • Considered relative to mankind It is many, but apart from mankind It is one. *Skan* imparts a *sicun* to each of mankind at birth. It remains with the person until death, when it returns whence it came. Its functions are to enable its possessor to do those things which the beasts cannot do and to give courage and fortitude. It may be pleased or displeased with its possessor and may be operative or inoperative according to its pleasure. It may be invoked by ceremony or prayer, but it cannot be imparted to any other person or thing. Most of the Gods can emit their potencies and when so emitted their potencies become *sicunpi*. Such a *sicun* can be imparted to material things by a proper ceremony correctly performed by a Shaman.

A *sicun* so imparted must be clothed by proper wrappings about the material It pervades. The wrappings may be in the form of a pouch, bag, bundle, or any receptacle that will cover and hide the material. The wrapping, the material, and the *sicun*, all together make a *wasicun*. A *sicun* is operative only when It is a part of a *wasicun*. The Oglala concept of a *wasicun* is most nearly expressed in English by the word Fetish, and this word will be so used hereinafter. While a Fetish may be operative

independent of the source of its potency. It must be treated with the veneration due to the God that emits its *Sicun*, for in all Its properties It is as that God. Thus, while the *sicun* ranks lowest among the Gods, a Fetish may have the potency of any God, except that of *Skan*, the Great Spirit, and of the Sun, the Chief of the Gods. A Fetish whose *sicun* is a *nagila*, or spirit-like, is potent only to remedy wounds or diseases, or to impose disorders on mankind. Such a Fetish is called *piyaha*, or a medicine bag. The contents of a medicine bag may be either the material, the spirit-like of which is the potency, or material to which potency has been imparted.

Any Oglala who is eligible for conducting a ceremony may choose and have a Shaman prepare for him a Fetish whose potency is commensurable with the ceremonies he may perform. As only Shamans should undertake to conduct ceremonies that pertain to the Superior Gods, so should they only choose Fetishes having the higher potencies. If the potency of any God abides in anything that thing should be the material enclosed in the wrapping of the Fetish pertaining to that God. As the potency of the Sun abides in fire and cannot be imparted to any other thing and as fire cannot be clothed with wrappings, a Fetish having the potency of the Sun cannot be prepared. As the Great Spirit is the source of all power, a Fetish having His potency is not permissible to mankind. The functions of a Fetish are to serve Its possessor with Its supernatural powers which are effective when properly invoked. When preparing a Fetish, the Shaman devises a formula which must be repeated to invoke Its powers.

Other *sicun* are the dissociated spirits that wander over the world; but they are classed with the Malevolent Gods. The Malevolent Gods are dissociated, but rank as follows: —

*Iya* or *Ibom* is a material God whose substance is visible only at his will. His form is that of an enormous giant man and his predominant property is his appetite. He is the last born son of the Rock and his mother is an *Unktehi* or monster. He has no abiding place and wanders over the world seeking to devour all that he gets into his power. He can swallow at one gulp a host of people or a herd of animals. His breath is a miasma and the cause of many diseases. He is stupid and frequently the butt of pranks by his older brother, *Iktomi*. As *Iya*, he is Lord over other Malevolent Gods and shares in the evils that they devise; as *Ibom* he is a destructive cyclone. He abhors ceremony, fears fire, and flies from an incense of sage or sweetgrass. The smoke of the pipe is repugnant to him.

*Gnaski*, the Demon, is a material God, whose substance is visible at his will. His form is that of the bull buffalo, like that of the Buffalo God. The people call him the crazy buffalo. He is fierce and cruel, but he may appear as if he were the Buffalo God and thus for the purpose of inciting to

crime or cruelty. He may possess a person and if he controls the spirit, the person is insane; or, if he controls the ghost, the person is paralyzed. He may be exorcised by the incense of sage and sweetgrass and can be controlled by the Fetish of a Shaman.

The *Unktehi* or Monsters, are material gods, whose substance is visible, but they hide under the deep waters. Their forms are those of huge reptiles with horns that can be projected to the clouds and tails that beat down forests. They tear the ground with their claws and make deep ravines; they defile waters and make them unfit for use by mankind; they lurk near shore to capture children, and in deep waters to take adults. These they hold in bondage under the waters or transmute them to water animals. The Winged God is forever at war with them and in battle with them they gore the ground making the bad lands, where may be seen the bones of *Unktehi* that were slain. A Shaman whose fetish is of the highest potency can subdue the *Unktehi* and drive them away and can undo their magic deeds.

The *Mini Watu* or Water Sprites are material beings whose substance is visible, except when too small to be seen. Their form is that of maggots and they cause things to rot. They ever seek entrance into the bodies of mankind and lurk in the waters to do so. When in the body they pinch the bowels, or pull the cords of the joints, or beat upon the brain, for they delight in the suffering of mankind. They ever war against the *niya*, or ghost, and if they prevail, the ghost leaves the body. But they may be exorcised in a vitalizing lodge by a Shaman or a medicineman.

The *Can Oti* or Forest Dwellers are elves who wander in lonely places and bewilder mankind so that directions and locations are not recognized. These elves can assume the forms of beasts or birds for the purpose of enticing mankind into their power. The smoke of the pipe or the potency of the Four Winds, can defeat their purposes.

The *Ungla* are goblins who haunt deserted places and lurk at night near tipis where they may appear like gibbering ghosts. They frighten timid people and children and cause distressing dreams. They fear the potency of the Sun and fly from it as it is shown in the light from a fire.

The *Gica* are cunning and malicious manikins who are visible or invisible at their will. They cause accidents and mishaps and prowl at night to do mysterious provoking things. The potency of the Buffalo, or of the Bear, can ward off their activities.

The *nagilapi* of noxious things are classed with the Malevolent Gods.

The potency of a Malignant God can be imparted to a material by a *wicasa hmunga*, or wizard. The material thing is thereby made potent to do that which the God can do and is subservient to its possessor. A Sha-

man can invoke the potency of either, or of all the Malevolent Gods, and make it operative or impotent. The being other than the Gods, with whom a Shaman may have to deal and whose activities the powers of a Fetish can control are as follows: —

*Iktomi*, the first-born son of the Rock was a God until the Great Spirit dissociated him from the Gods and condemned him to wander forever over the world without friend or associate. He is a material being whose substance is visible or invisible at his will. Because his other parent is the shapeless Winged God, his normal shape is queer, but he may appear as a handsome young man. He has the potencies of a God, but is a misanthropic being, and delights in making others the butts of ridicule. He is crafty and cruel, but is often the victim of his own schemes. He invented languages and gave common names to all things. He can converse with mankind and with the *nagilapi*, but he talks more often with other things. He is often with *Iya*, his younger brother, and then he exercises his birthright of the first-born son, demands obedience of *Iya* and causes him to do ridiculous things. If *Iktomi* is present during a ceremony, he will scheme to make it ridiculous and an offense to the Gods, for he is an imp of mischief. In whatsoever form he may appear, a Shaman can detect him and by the aid of the Fetish restore him to his normal shape and drive him away.

*Waziya* is the Old Man, the Wizard, who received from *Iktomi* the potencies of a God; because of this the Great Spirit decreed that his ghost should remain with him forever and that he should dwell alone on the world. He is the husband of *Kanka* and the father of *Anog Ite*, and thus the grandfather of the Four Winds. His tipi is the same as that of *Yata*, the North Wind, but *Yata* does not abide in it. He is always seen coming from the direction of his tipi and can enter a tipi or lodge only when the door opens toward the north. In summer and winter he is heavily clothed with furs, for he is cold and his presence causes chilliness. His presence at a ceremony will chill the rites and make the Gods indifferent to them. He is an irascible being and quick to vent his anger, but he may be kind and helpful to one who pleases him. The wandering spirits are his familiars and they do his bidding. He is the adversary of the Shamans and interferes with their works. Sage is repugnant to him and he will not come near it and will leave whenever incense is made of it.

*Wakanka* is the Old Woman, the Witch, the wife of *Wazi*, and the mother of *Anog Ite*, and so, the grandmother of the Four Winds. She is a seer and because of this she induced her husband to purloin the potency of a God and incited her daughter to profane the disposition of the Sun. She schemed with *Iktomi* to accomplish these things. Because of this the Great Spirit doomed her forever to dwell alone in the world. Her tipi is old, smoky,

and ragged, and is where she places it. She appears to young men and young women as a decrepit woman in want of something, and begs of them for what she wants. According to the disposition that they manifest in their treatment of her, she foretells their good or evil fortune, and may give that which will make her prediction true. If her purposes be evil, a Shaman by the aid of his fetish can thwart her.

*Anog Ite* is the daughter of *Wazi* and *Kanka*. She was the wife of *Tate* and gave Him four sons at one birth. She was the most beautiful of woman-kind, but was vain. When she was again with child she was incited by the scheming of her mother and *Iktomi*, to attempt an intrigue with the Sun; and thus desecrated the seat of the Moon and brought shame upon *Tate*. Because of this the Great Spirit doomed her to abide on the world forever and to have two faces, one enticingly beautiful, the other so horrible that one seeing it would either flee from her or go mad; to give forth her child without birth, so that it would always be little; and that her children should know her no more as a mother. Having sat in the seat of a God she thereby gained occult powers and so abides on the world. She became ruthless and vindictive and vents her spite on mankind. With her beautiful face she lures men to embrace her and then shows them her horrid features and drives them to distraction. She foments scandal and jealousies and torments pregnant women; she plagues babes with pains and fears; she promotes illicit love affairs and adultery; she is afraid of old men and old women and abhors the bark and twigs of the cottonwood, for they will fend against her scheming. The Shamans should oppose her, for with the aid of their Fetishes they can overcome her and her works.

The Stars are a supernatural people, the people of the Sky. They are indifferent to the affairs of mankind, but they may come down to the world and mingle with the people, and some of them have married among the Lakota. They are beyond the province of a Shaman, for they are the people of the Great Spirit, who controls them.

The Buffalo People are those who dwell in the regions under the world, and are the people of the Sun. *Waziya* was their chief, but when he was deposed they chose the Buffalo God to be their chief and He is so. They have the power to transmogrify and may appear on the world as animals or as of mankind, and may mingle with the Lakota and become their spouses. They can transmogrify their spouses and take them to the regions under the world.

The offspring of a buffalo person and a Lakota has the powers of its buffalo parent and controls its other parent. A Lakota espoused to a buffalo person, or having buffalo children, can be freed from their control only by a Shaman whose fetish has the potency of the Buffalo God.

A very old man; or a very old woman, because of age and experience may have supernatural powers which they can use for good or evil, and only a Shaman can defeat their harmful purposes.

A woman, during her menstrual flow, is susceptible to control by *Gnaski* and *Anog Ite* and is an easy dupe of *Iktomi*. During this time she should live alone and a Shaman should not permit her presence during a ceremony.

To have game animals submit to their fate and become food for mankind, a Shaman should explain to a captured one that this is its destiny, then decorate it as a mark of friendship, and, freeing it, bid it tell its kind what he said and did to it. A man may so offend game animals that they will escape from hunters, and if so a Shaman should penalize the offending one by making taboo to him some portion of the offended animals.

A Shaman should receive an honorarium for whatsoever he says or does for the benefit of others. The practices of a Shaman must be learned by association with other Shamans.

#### REGALIA OF THE CANDIDATE.

The Mentor should instruct until he is satisfied that the Candidate understands what the authority, powers, functions, and emoluments of a Shaman are and then he should make sure that the Candidate is provided with the required regalia, which are:—

- A red skirt made of soft tanned deerskin.
- A cape made of otterskin tanned with the fur on.
- Two armlets made of hair shed from a buffalo.
- Two anklets made of rabbitskin tanned with the fur on.
- A whistle made from the ulnar bone of an eagle wing.
- A hoop made of a willow withe.

The Candidate should not be permitted to enter the Sacred Lodge in the ceremonial camp without these regalia, which may be ornamented in any manner the Mentor may permit. The Candidate may also provide himself with such insignia as he is entitled to wear, take them with him into the Sacred Lodge, and wear them while dancing the Sun Dance. He should also be provided with a pipe and sufficient tobacco to last through four days, from the time he enters the Sacred Lodge until the completion of the dance.

#### SPECIAL INSTRUCTIONS FOR THE CEREMONY.

When these provisions are made, the Mentor should instruct the Candidate relative to his conduct while in the Sacred Lodge, as follows:—

Before entering the Sacred Lodge a Candidate should strip and wear

only a breechclout and moccasins. While in the Lodge he must wear no other clothing, though his attendant may provide him with a robe to wrap about himself to lie upon. After entering the Lodge, he should not leave it until he goes on the trail of the Sun. His attendant should provide the food and drink that he will be permitted to take and should care for his other necessities. While in the lodge he should converse with no one other than the occupants of the lodge, the Mentors, and attendants. He should meditate continually on his undertaking and talk little of other things. He may smoke the pipe and make incense with sage or sweetgrass as often as he pleases. While he is in the Sacred Lodge is a fit time for him to compose a song that will be known as his song. Then, if he becomes a person of distinction the women will sing his song to honor him. He must fast and take no drink from the beginning of the last day he occupies the Sacred Lodge until he has danced the Sun Dance. Only a Shaman can release him from any of the requirements for his conduct while in the Sacred Lodge.

The Mentor, having instructed the Candidate relative to his correct behavior in the Sacred Lodge, should then inform him of the tortures inflicted as part of the rites of the Sun Dance. Such torture should cause the blood to flow, for when the blood flows as a token, it is the surest guarantee of sincerity, and without such a guarantee the people or the Sun may doubt the professed purposes of the dancer. They should cause pain, for to endure pain willingly for the accomplishment of a purpose proves fortitude, the greatest virtue that he must manifest when in the presence of the people he appears before the face of the Sun. The first great virtue, bravery, is made most manifest by enduring the greatest flow of blood and the most suffering that the rites of the Sun Dance demand.

A dancer should endure the torture of gazing at the Sun while dancing, so that no one can say that he did not dare to look into the face of the Sun when making a request of Him. One who endures the tortures to the uttermost of the demands of the rites of the ceremony performs his part in a manner acceptable to the Gods and can expect a communication from them. He is thereby fitted for the accomplishment of the purposes of his dance. These instructions should be continued until the Candidate becomes a dancer in the Dance Lodge, when his formal relation with his Mentor ceases.

#### DUTIES OF THE PEOPLE.

In the meantime, the people should do their part of the first condition for the ceremony. In addition to providing for the feasts, offerings, and presents, they should provide the necessary equipment. Thus, there should

be provided for each Candidate who is to dance the second, third, or fourth form of the dance: —

- A robe.
- A dried buffalo tail attached to a long wooden handle.
- Two or four strong thongs.
- Two or four sharp-pointed sticks made of ash.

The thongs and sticks should be such as will sustain the weight of the Candidate. There should also be provided: —

- A new tipi and new poles.
- A dried untanned buffalo skin with the hair on.
- A portion of dried untanned buffalo skin with the hair removed.
- A dried buffalo penis.
- A sufficient supply of buffalo chips.
- A sufficient supply of red, blue, green, and yellow paints.
- A sufficient supply of fat from the loins and heart of a buffalo.
- A chopper.
- A wooden digging implement.
- A red banner.
- A drum and drumsticks.
- Two or more rattles.
- Sixteen stakes of peeled ash.
- A head of a buffalo recently taken from the carcass.
- As many heads of buffalo recently taken from the carcasses as there are candidates to dance the second form.
- The material necessary for the erection of the Sun Dance lodge.

The articles of the equipment may be provided at any time before they are required for use. When they are provided they may be consecrated by Shamans with such ceremony as they deem proper. An article thus consecrated is thereby made taboo to the one who provides it and becomes the property of the first who takes it.

#### THE JOURNEY OF THE BANDS TO THE SUN DANCE SITE.

The location of the ceremonial camp circle is selected by common consent. The requisites are proximity to water, growing cottonwood, and sufficient wood. The site for the circle should be nearly level so that there will be no obstructions to the rites. It should be chosen and announced in time for all bands that are to attend the ceremony to journey to it in a leisurely fashion.

Each band should canvas this journey so that the magistrate may know its pleasure in regard to the movement. He should appoint the marshals and scouts of the movement and the day for the beginning of the journey,

so that it will be completed not less than four days before the ceremonial camp ought to be established. From the time this journey begins, until the band locates its camp after leaving the place where the ceremony is performed, each day is a holiday for the band. Then the potency of the Whirlwind pervades the movements and encampments and all are bent on pleasure. The people jest and have sports that all may be merry; the old men sound their rattles to ward against *Iktomi* and his pranks; the young men woo; and the old women make incense of twigs or bark of cottonwood to foil *Anog Ite*.

Before beginning each day's journey, the magistrate, the marshals of movement, and the scouts should go apart from the people, and the magistrate should offer smoke to the Four Winds and pray to him for good weather; and to the Sky and pray for His care while the band is moving. When all are ready, the magistrate should send the scouts ahead on the route he has chosen and the marshals of the movement back to the people. Then the ordinary organization of the camp is in abeyance until the people are again encamped. The magistrate should lead the movement of the band and the marshals should maintain compliance with the Oglala customs that govern such movements. The movement of the band should not be faster than the slowest member of the band can travel and it may be as leisurely as the distance will permit. At the end of each fourth of the distance to be traveled in a day the magistrate should sit and light his pipe. This is the signal for all to unburden for rest and refreshment. When the fourth signal is given the people should encamp. When the tipis are set up, the ordinary organization of the camp is resumed.

The band should journey in this manner each day until it arrives at the place for the ceremonial camp. If two bands come together on their journey they should coalesce, according to the customs of the Oglala; but as bands, they may each contend with the other in friendly contests and games.

During the journey and until they enter the Sacred Lodge, the Candidates should keep aloof from the people and have no part in their levities. All who intend to participate in the ceremony should complete this journey so as to coalesce with the other bands on the day when the Moon is four hands' breadth above the edge of the world, when the Sun goes down out of sight, for on that day the preliminary Sun Dance camp should be established, its council lodge erected, and a council fire built. The preliminary camp is for the purpose of completing the organization to take effect at dawn of the day when the ceremonial camp is to be established. The duration of the preliminary camp should be four days preceding the establishment of the ceremonial camp and during these four days the people

may spend their time in social intercourse and merry-making. Then young women should seek spears of grama grass that bear four heads, for their possession insures good luck in love affairs.

#### THE FIRST DAY'S CEREMONY.

On the first day, soon after the council fire is made, the Mentors and Candidates should assemble in the council lodge and the Mentor of the Candidate who first announced his candidacy should fill and light a pipe and all should smoke in communion. When all have been thus harmonized, the seat at the place of honor in the lodge should be occupied in the following manner:—

If the Mentor of the Candidate who first announced his candidacy is a Shaman he should occupy this seat. If he is not a Shaman, or declines to occupy the seat, then the Mentors should choose a Shaman, one of the Mentors if practicable, to occupy the seat. The one who occupies this seat thereby becomes the Superior of the ceremony and as the head of the organization for the ceremonial camp will have supervision over all that occurs in that camp.

The other Mentors are the councilors of the camp. The Superior should appoint all who are to participate in the ceremonies to be performed in the Dance Lodge other than those who are entitled to so participate. At this assembly he should appoint a herald and marshals of the ceremony and paint on the cheek of each, the insignum of his office with an additional red stripe to indicate that he is an officer of a sacred ceremony. Then the assembly may discuss matters pertaining to the ceremony and adjourn. This completes the formalities for the first day of the preliminary camp.

#### THE SECOND DAY.

Early on the second day the council of the Bear God should assemble at the council lodge. This council is composed of the Superior, the Mentors, the Candidates, and such Shamans, chiefs, and councilors as may wish to take part in their deliberations. The Superior should fill and light a pipe, offer it to the Four Winds and ask a blue day of Him, and then to the Bear God and pray Him for wisdom to control the deliberations of the council. Then he should again fill and light the pipe and pass it so that all may smoke in communion. While they are smoking he should incense with sweetgrass. When all are thus harmonized and the potency of the Mediator made

effective, the mothers who wish to have their babes' ears pierced should announce the fact and the names of those they have chosen to fulfil this rite. Next, the parents who wish to place their children in the procession to the Sacred Tree should announce their names. Then the maidens who wish to be appointed as female attendants for the dancers should announce their desires. Then the women who wish to chop the Sacred Tree should announce the reasons for their eligibility. Then anyone may propose another for appointment to any of these offices. When these matters have been placed before the council it should deliberate upon them. Then the council should partake of the Feast of the Bear God which should be provided by the women who appeared before the council. The principal food of this feast should be the flesh of the dog. This feast completes the formalities of the second day of the preliminary camp. The red-striped marshals should urge that every article of the equipment for the performance of the ceremony be provided before the establishment of the ceremonial camp.

#### THE THIRD DAY.

Early on the third day the herald of the camp should proclaim that the Superior is about to announce the names of those appointed as the hunter (scout), the digger, the escort, and the musicians. The people should assemble about the council lodge, where the Superior should make these announcements. As each announcement is made, the red-striped herald should loudly proclaim it and the one so appointed should present himself so that the Superior may apply the insignum of his office. For the hunter, this should be a circle of red paint around his right eye; for the digger, a stripe of red paint horizontally applied to his right cheek and red paint applied to the palms of his hands; for the musicians, a circle of red paint applied around the mouth; for the escort, a horizontal stripe of red paint applied across the forehead. The functions of the hunter are to find and mark the Sacred Tree; of the digger, to dig the hole for the erection of the Sacred Pole and the space for the altar in the Dance Lodge. There should be four drummers, four rattlers, and a choir of as many men and women as the Superior sees fit to appoint. The escort should be as many reputable brave men as the Superior chooses to appoint; preferably, they should be members of the various societies represented in the camp. Their functions are to escort the Superior and Mentors when they go in procession to perform rites pertaining to the ceremony and to lead in the battles against the Malevolent Gods and beings to be fought on the site of the ceremonial camp.

When these appointments have been made the Superior, in the presence of the people, decorates the buffalo head, and invokes the potency of the Buffalo God to prevail in the ceremonial camp. He should do this in the following manner:—

The buffalo head which was previously provided should be placed near the council lodge so that it faces the Sun. A fire of buffalo chips should be made beside it. The Superior should sit before it while the Mentors sit in a circle around it. The women who color the parting of their hair red to signify that they have had the Buffalo Ceremony performed for their benefit should sit in a circle about the Mentors and the people should form the outer circle. The Superior should fill and light a pipe from the fire of chips and blow smoke into the nostrils of the buffalo head and then, with the fire of chips, he should make an incense of sweetgrass and while it smokes the women seated in the circle should contribute ornaments. The Superior should attach these ornaments to the horns of the buffalo head and then address the potency of the Buffalo God that abides in the head, telling it that the ornaments are tokens of the esteem of the people for the Buffalo God and praying it to pervade the ceremonial camp. When he has made this address he should give the buffalo head into the keeping of the red-striped marshals and instruct them to produce it when the Sacred Lodge is erected.

Then the herald of the camp should proclaim that the feast of buffalo tongues is ready to be served and invite all to partake of it. This feast should be provided by the bands of the Candidates, each band vying to produce the most abundant supply of fresh or dried buffalo tongues. The feast should be prepared and served by the women of the bands that make the provision. It should be served so that each one present may have at least a bit of buffalo tongue, for the feast is in honor of and a propitiation to the Buffalo God who is the patron of generosity and hospitality. This is the last feast that the Candidates should be permitted to attend until after they have danced the Sun Dance and therefore they should be served with an abundance of food, not less than an entire buffalo tongue for each. This feast completes the formalities of the third day of the ceremonial camp and may be prolonged far in the night.

#### THE FOURTH DAY.

Early in the morning of the fourth day the marshal of the camp should summon the people to assemble and hear the will of the Superior. When the people are assembled, the Superior should announce the names of the

women appointed to chop the Sacred Tree and the name of the woman who is to fell it. These women should be mothers noted for their industry and hospitality, preferably such as have had kindred slain in war. To be appointed to chop the Sacred Tree is a lasting honor and to fell it entitles the woman to wear a stripe of red paint across her forehead, for she thereby becomes, *Ina*, or *Mama*, to all the *hunkaya* of the people. The *hunkaya* are those who are held in such esteem that they are addressed as adopted relatives. The functions of these women are to chop the Sacred Tree until it is about to fall and then the one who is to fell it should strike the last blows that cut it down. When the announcement of the appointment of these women is made, the camp herald should loudly proclaim it so that all may hear.

Then the Superior should announce the names of female relatives of the Candidates who will be permitted in the Dance Lodge to sing and shout encouragement to the dancers and to give them such assistance or relief as will be permitted. These names the herald should loudly proclaim. When these appointments are made the maidens to be appointed as female attendants should be tested. The Superior should sit with the maidens desiring appointment in a circle around him and the people should assemble about this circle. Then the herald should loudly call the name of each maiden who when called should stand and declare that she has never had carnal intercourse with a man. Anyone may challenge her declaration. If she is challenged and remains silent, it is considered that she is not a maiden. But she may stand and repeat the declaration and bite a snakeskin, or the effigy of a snake. If her challenger is then silent, her declaration is considered true. If the challenge is repeated, the challenger must also bite the snake, but if he does not, it is considered that his challenge is a slander. If he does, then a decision should be held in abeyance until a snake decides by biting the one who gave false testimony, as a snake will surely do.

When the maidens have made their declarations, the Superior should appoint as female attendants of the dancers those whose declarations have not been challenged, or who have freed themselves from accusation by biting the snake. The names of those thus appointed should be loudly proclaimed by the camp marshal. Then the feast of the maidens should be given by the relatives and friends of the appointees. Only women should partake of this feast, but when it is over, the women's dance may be danced; each woman who dances chooses a man to dance beside her. This festivity should cease when the setting Sun is a hand's breadth above the edge of the world. Then the Superior and the Mentors should go together to the top of a nearby hill and there the Superior should fill and light a pipe, and offer it to the Four Winds and pray Him to give blue days for the ceremony. Then, as the Sun

disappears from sight he should extend the mouthpiece of the pipe toward Him, and pray Him to look with favor on the ceremonial camp, so that the people may be happy and perform their part of the ceremony in an acceptable manner.

At dusk that day all should retire to their tipis and there should be no games or merry-making. That night no one other than the marshals should go abroad in the camp; but those whose faces are painted black may go outside the camp and on the hills wail songs to the spirits of those they mourn.

#### THE SECOND FOUR DAY PERIOD.

The next four days, when the final ceremonial camp should be maintained, are the four holy days of midsummer, when it is meet to perform ceremonies that pertain to the Gods. Then the Earth has caused the ground to bring forth the grass to fatten the buffalo and the fruits for the benefit of mankind and all things that grow from the ground. The Winged God has caused these things to grow and ripen. *Skan, Tate, and Okaga* pervade all above the world, and *Wi* smiles upon all. Therefore, the Oglala should rejoice and show happiness by having ceremonies in honor of the Gods.

When the first holy day dawns, the red herald should proclaim through the preliminary camp that the Superior has authority over all, and that one who will not submit to his authority should take no further part in the Sun Dance ceremony. He should also proclaim that one knowing himself to be unworthy to appear before the face of the Sun should not enter the ceremonial camp circle, because if such a one appears in the ceremonial camp the Sun will hide His face with a veil of clouds until the offending one withdraws, or until the Winged God sweeps or washes away the offense.

When the red herald has made these proclamations the people should quickly prepare for the rites to be performed on this day and the Superior, Mentors, and Candidates should go in procession so as to be on top of a nearby hill when the Sun begins His daily journey. If His face is hidden they should return to the people and the red herald should proclaim the command of the Superior that the unworthy withdraw from the camp. The red marshals should seek the cause of offense and if they find it, they should expel it from the camp. Then the Superior should offer the lighted pipe to the Four Winds and pray Him to give a blue day, that is, a day of sunshine that is neither too cold nor too hot for comfort. When this is done all should wait until the Sun shows His face. When He does so, the Superior in the presence of the Mentors and the Candidates should extend the mouthpiece of a lighted pipe toward Him, and pray the *Wakan Tanka*

through Their chief, the Sun, to be gracious and grant the people Their favor, and an effectual performance of the Sun Dance to the Candidates.

When this rite is over the Superior should command the escort to fight the Malevolent Gods and beings and drive them from the site of the ceremonial camp. Then the escort and such others as wish to aid them should charge upon the site as if against an enemy, and shouting war cries, strike, thrust, and shoot arrows as if fighting a visible foe. This they should do back and forth, all about the site, and the evil ones will be driven from it. When this rite is completed, the red herald should proclaim the site freed from harmful things and that the Superior will then locate the Sacred Spot. Then the Superior, Mentors, and Candidates should form a procession, accompanied by the escort, and followed by the people. This procession should circle the site, spirally approaching the center, and as they near it, the Superior with his Fetish in hand should scan the ground for an indication of the Sacred Spot, and when he sees it he should extend his Fetish which will draw his hands to the spot. The digger should drive a stake in the ground at the Sacred Spot to mark its location. The Superior should make a great smoke from buffalo chips, as an incense to propitiate the Buffalo God. When this is done the red herald should proclaim that the Sacred Spot is located and the site made ready to be occupied. Then the people should shout and sing joyfully, the women ululate, and all should hasten to erect their tipis in the ceremonial camp circle that should have the Sacred Spot for its center, and its entrance toward the east. The tipi of the Superior should be placed at the chief place of the circle and the council lodge on the area near it.

While the people are establishing the ceremonial camp circle the Superior should locate the Sacred Lodge in the following manner. He should begin at the Sacred Spot and walk four paces toward the entrance of the camp circle and there pause. The digger should drive into the ground where the Superior paused one of the stakes provided with the equipment. Then the Superior should go four paces in the same direction, and again pause. There the digger should drive another stake. This should be repeated until the digger has driven all sixteen of the stakes provided with the equipment, so that they will be on a straight line from the Sacred Spot to the entrance. These stakes mark the Sun Trail of the camp. When the trail is so marked no one should walk on or across it, except when necessary in the performance of duties. The last stake driven locates the door of the Sacred Lodge which should open toward the south.

## SACRED LODGE ERECTED.

When this location is established the Sacred Lodge should be erected in the following manner. It should be the new tipi and poles provided with the equipment. The women who are to chop the Sacred Tree should erect these poles and then the Superior should paint a dab of red on the inner side of each pole and paint red on the ears and door flap of the covering. When this is done the women should place and pin the covering.

When this lodge is thus erected the mentors should prepare it for occupation by the Candidates by each making a bed of sage in it for his Candidate and the Superior should prepare in it an altar between the fireplace and the place of honor. Then he should place beside the altar the ornamented buffalo head, so that it will face toward the place of honor.

When the Sacred Lodge is thus prepared the Candidates should enter it. They should be conducted through the door and to their beds by their Mentors. The first to enter the lodge should be the one who first announced his candidacy, but if he has declined this honor the Candidates should choose another to take it. The first who enters should be conducted to the place of honor and seated there. He is thereby made the leader of the Sun Dance. When all the Candidates have entered the Sacred Lodge, the Superior should fill and light a pipe, and pass it so that all in the lodge may smoke in communion. When all have been thus harmonized, the Mentors should give such instructions as they deem necessary, and then depart. After this, the attendants may come and go into the Sacred Lodge as the wants of the Candidates may demand; but only the Mentors and the attendants should come near the Sacred Lodge or attempt to talk with its occupants. Soon after the Candidates occupy the lodge the attendants should bring them the robes that have been provided.

## SCOUTING FOR THE TREE.

During the erection of the Sacred Lodge, the Superior should order the hunter, or scout, to go and search for game, and if he should see signs of an enemy, to return and report to him. The hunter should go, prepared as if for hunting, and when he comes to growing cottonwood, he should select a growing cottonwood tree, the butt of which should not be less than two spans in circumference. The tree should be straight, and forked at a height of about four times the distance from hand to hand when the arms are outstretched. He should mark this tree with circles of red paint, on

the west, north, east, and south sides. This tree is thereby made the Sacred Tree and its *nagila* endowed with extraordinary potency so that it can bring disaster on anyone who profanes it by treating it as other trees are treated. Having so marked this tree, the hunter should return to the camp and privately report to the Superior that he has found an enemy near the camp.

#### BUILDING THE SUN LODGE.

As soon as the tipis are set up to form the ceremonial camp circle, the bands should detail a number of men as workmen who should immediately begin the erection of the Dance Lodge and work at it continuously until it is completed, which should be not later than midday of the third holy day. The people should bring the material provided for the erection of the Dance Lodge and help the workmen. The red marshals should supervise the erection of the lodge and have it made large enough to accommodate all who may participate in the ceremonies to be performed in it. It should be circular in form with the Sacred Spot as its center. It should enclose a covered space that surrounds an uncovered space with an uncovered entrance toward the south.

The covered space should be made by placing two rows of forked posts upright in the ground, the rows four arms' length apart and the posts so placed that poles can be laid from the fork of one to the fork of another and so that the poles on the outer row of posts will be as high as a short man can reach and the poles on the inner row as high as a tall man can reach. Poles should be laid from post to post and other poles on these, so as to form a support for leafy branches that should be placed so as to form a sheltering cover. Poles should be tied from post to post of the outer row, so as to make a support for leafy branches that should be attached so as to form an outer wall for the lodge.

While the workmen erect the Dance Lodge, the digger should dig the Sacred Spot with his wooden digging implement and there make a hole in which the Sacred Pole should be erected. Then he should make a large altar near this hole, between it and the place of honor in the Dance Lodge.

During the time of the erection and preparation of the Dance Lodge, no one should loiter in or about it.

The various societies represented in the ceremonial camp may erect their lodges anywhere on the area, except at the entrance, the chief place, or the places for the Sacred and Dance Lodges.

## THE BUFFALO FEAST.

When the Candidates have occupied the Sacred Lodge, the Superior should order the red herald to proclaim that the buffalo procession will be formed. It should be formed near the council lodge with the Superior and Mentors at the head, followed by the escort, and then by all the people who are not otherwise occupied in preparation for the ceremony. The procession should move four times around the inside of the camp circle. This is to propitiate the Buffalo God and the Whirlwind God, for it is meet to please these Gods on the first holy day, because They are the patrons of domestic affairs and of love-making. Therefore, families march together in this procession, though young men and young women may walk side by side. The people should shout and sing in praise of these Gods and call aloud sentiments appropriate to the occasion. The young men and young women may make love and if one of them has a four-headed spear of grama grass it should be openly shown while marching. When the procession arrives at the council lodge the fourth time it should disperse.

Then the women should hasten to prepare food for the buffalo feast and when it is ready the red herald should proclaim an invitation for the old, the poor, and the needy to partake of it. These should assemble in a circle on the area, with the people about them. The women should place the food in the midst of the guests. A Shaman should dance the buffalo dance and in the meantime he should dedicate the food in each vessel with his Fetish, to the God of generosity, the Buffalo God. Then the women should select titbits which the attendants carry to the Candidates; next, they should serve the guests, that is, the old, the poor, and the needy; and finally, they should serve the people.

The festivities may be prolonged until the Sun is about half a hand breadth above the edge of the world, when all should solemnly wait while the Superior and Mentors go to the top of a nearby hill, and there, as the Sun disappears from sight, offer Him smoke, and pray Him to heed the words of the Buffalo which He will speak that night in commendation of the people.

At dusk the young men may sound the flute and young women go to trysting places, while the old men shake their rattles and the old women make incense of the bark or twigs of cottonwood. When it is dark the Superior and Mentors carrying their Fetishes should go around outside the camp circle and drive away such evil beings as may lurk near the camp. Then they should visit the Candidates to instruct or admonish them. This concludes the formalities of the first holy day.

Far into the night there may be social gatherings on the area and in the tipis. Men and women should treat each other on terms of equality and with friendly hilarity.

#### GREETING THE SUN.

When the second holy day dawns the red herald should proclaim that *Anp*, the forerunner of the Sun announces that it will be a blue day, or if the dawn indicates that clouds will hide the face of the Sun when He begins His daily journey, then the herald should proclaim that the forerunner, *Anp*, tells that the Sun will hide His face because of some offense in the camp. Then the escort, and such others as wish to join them, should immediately do battle on the area and about the tipis against the *Can Oti*, *Ungla*, and *Gica*, and other malevolent beings that may chance to lurk in or about the camp. While they are doing so the Superior and Mentors, each carrying his Fetish in his hand, should march in procession, accompanied by the red herald and red marshals, around inside the camp circle, and each should invoke his Fetish to remove from the camp all causes of offense to the Sun. The herald should proclaim that if anyone knows himself to be unworthy to appear before the Sun, he must withdraw from the camp. If the marshals know of one whose reputation is such as to be offensive to the Sun they should expel him from the camp. These things should be done each morning of the holy days. When they are done all should await the pleasure of the Sun which He will manifest by showing His face. If on any day He should not show His face then that day is not counted as a holy day, but enough days are so counted as to make four. Each holy day when the Sun first shows His face the Superior and Mentors should formally greet Him and beg His favor for that day.

#### CAPTURE OF THE TREE.

On the second holy day, after the escort has driven evil beings from the camp and the Superior has formally greeted the Sun, the red herald should proclaim that the people form for the procession of the Bear God. Then a procession should form and march as on the previous day, but it should be done without levity. When the procession disperses, the Superior should command the red herald to proclaim that the hunter has reported that an enemy is near the camp. He then should command the escort to go in search of the enemy and if found take him captive. The escort, and those who wish to join them, should search all about in the vicinity of the camp,

as if looking for signs of an enemy. Soon they should return and report to the Superior that no signs of an enemy have been found. The Superior should command them to go and search again, and they should do as before. This is repeated until the fourth time, when the escort finds the Sacred Tree. They should surround it, jeering and taunting it, and then rush upon it, strike it, and bind a thong about it.

When they have done this they should return to the camp singing a victory song and shouting like victorious returning warriors. The people should greet their return with songs and shouts of joy and the women should ululate shrilly. The escort should report to the Superior that the enemy has been found and made captive and the herald should proclaim this to the people who should rejoice and shout and sing warrior songs. The Superior should then command the red herald to proclaim the formation of the procession that is to bring the enemy into the camp. The procession should be formed with the Superior and Mentors leading, followed by the escort, the mothers bearing babes whose ears are to be pierced, the children whose parents wish thus to honor them, the women who are to chop the Sacred Tree, and finally, the people. The procession should go, if practicable, so as to cross running water at its second pause. At about one fourth the distance to the Sacred Tree, the Superior should halt and light a pipe and all should wait until he has smoked a few whiffs. Then the procession should move on until one half the distance is covered; there again the Superior should halt as before, and if there is running water there he should strike it four times with his Fetish, to drive from it the *Mini Watu*, or evil water creatures that can infect the people. Again, at three fourths the distance all should halt as before. Then the procession should go to the tree and surround it. Now the Superior may harangue the people and should proclaim aloud four times the name of some reputable man, preferably one who is renowned for war deeds. The one so named should come forward and take the chopper and may recite the deeds that make him eligible to strike the Sacred Tree. When he has done so, he should strike the Sacred Tree on the west side four times with the chopper, and if he can do so, leave the chopper sticking in the tree. This should be repeated until four men have struck the tree, each four times, first on the west, then the north, then the east, and then on the south. The *nagila* of the tree is thus subdued and made subservient to the people.

When this is done, the children who are to be honored are placed in line, and the herald, beginning at one end of the line should call the names of the children successively as they stand, and when a name is so called those wishing to honor the child should come forward and give it presents. When this is done, the Superior should command that the Sacred Tree be felled. Then the women appointed to chop the Sacred Tree should do so, relieving

each other so that all may have a chance. When the tree is about to fall the woman chosen to fell it should strike the last blows that cut it down. As the tree falls, the people should sing and shout and ululate for joy because it is now their servant. To ululate one should utter a prolonged sound in high or falsetto key, patting the lips with the fingers while doing so. This is an expression of intensity of emotion.

When the tree is down it should be trimmed and the bark peeled from it to its smaller end. The bark should be left on the fork at the smaller end. This is the Sacred Pole. Pregnant women, and women who have young babes will eagerly gather the twigs that are trimmed from the tree, for they are powerfully effective against *Anog Ite*.

After the Superior pronounces the pole Sacred, it should not be touched by hands that are not painted red. Then it should be carried to the camp in the following manner:— A sufficient number of carrying sticks should be placed under it and the carriers should lift it on these without touching it with their hands and carry it, butt forward, toward the camp. When about one fourth the distance to be carried, the carriers should halt and lay the Sacred Pole on the ground. Then they should howl like wolves, for this is the cry of returning warriors who come bringing a captive. Then another relay of carriers should lift and carry the pole in the same manner to half the distance, where they should lay it down and howl as did the first relay. Then another relay should carry it in the same manner as before, to three fourths the distance, where they should lay it down and howl.

Then the messenger race should be run in this manner:— The young men who desire to run this race should stand side by side in a line at the Sacred Pole, and starting at a signal should race for the Sacred Spot. The first to place his hand on the Sacred Spot; or in the hole for the erection of the Sacred Pole is thereby entitled to carry a red coup stick, or a banner of feathers. A runner in this race should obstruct his competitors in any manner he can. Thus a runner in this race may be seriously injured by a blow or a fall.

After the race of the messengers the fourth relay of carriers should lift and carry the pole as before, taking it through the entrance to the camp circle and into the Dance Lodge, where they should lay it down with the forked end toward the east and the butt at the hole prepared for its erection. It should be so placed that when it is erected it will follow the course of the Sun. When the Sacred Pole is laid in the Dance Lodge the people may disperse, but the Superior and Mentors should then mix the paints and fats supplied with the equipment, and they, or others, whose hands are painted red, should paint the Sacred Pole, so that its west side will be red, its north blue, its east green, and its south side yellow.

The fork of the pole should not be painted and the paint should be so

applied to the body of the pole that when erect the opening of the fork will be toward the west and east. While others are painting the Sacred Pole one of the Mentors should cut from the dried buffalo skins without hair, provided with the equipment, the figures of a bull buffalo and of a man, each with exaggerated genitals, and painted black. When the Sacred Pole is painted, all but the Superior, Mentors, and Shamans should be excluded from the Dance Lodge. Those remaining should sit in a circle around the black images, and by incantation, impart to the image of a man the potency of *Iya*, the patron God of libertinism, and to the image of the buffalo the potency of *Gnaski*, the Crazy Buffalo, the patron God of licentiousness. When thus prepared, these images should be carefully wrapped and bound so as to restrain them until they are elevated.

When the people disperse from the Dance Lodge the societies may give feasts, one or more at the same time, but all should unite in feasting. During this feast, each society should be grouped, and each served by its women folks before the people are served. After feasting, each society may dance its dances and such others as the regulations of the society will permit, may dance with them. These festivities may continue far into the night, but they should cease while the Superior greets the Sun as He disappears from sight.

When it is dark that night the Superior and Mentors should again go in procession about the camp for the same purposes as on the previous night, and then visit the Candidates in the Sacred Lodge. This completes the formalities of the second holy day.

#### THE PROCESSION OF SEX.

From dawn on the third holy day until the Sun shows His face, the same rites should be performed as on the preceding day. Then the herald should call the people to form the procession of sex in which children take no part. It should form near the council lodge, the women in front and the men behind, with an interval between the sexes. This procession should march around inside the camp circle four times, the women with song and speech lauding the Earth and the Feminine, while the men in the same manner laud the Sky and the Wind. When this procession returns to the starting place the fourth time, it should disperse, and then the Superior and Mentors should go to the Sacred Lodge, and remind the Candidates that they may drink, but take no food on that day.

## RAISING THE SUN POLE.

They should then go in procession on the Sun Trail to the Dance Lodge and enter it. There the Superior should prepare the Fetish of the Sun Dance, making it of four times four wands of chokecherry wood and enclosing in it a wisp of sage, one of sweetgrass, and a tuft of shed buffalo hair. He may also enclose in it such trinkets or ornaments as the people give for that purpose. When this bundle is securely bound, the Superior, assisted by such Shamans as he may select, should, with the aid of his Fetish and by proper ceremony, impart to it the potency of the Buffalo God so that when it is elevated the Buffalo God will prevail in the camp.

Then he should securely bind this Fetish to one fork of the Sacred Pole. When he has done this, he should prepare the banner of the Shamans, making it of some red material that will wave. It should be four arms' length long and four hands' breadth wide, with a wand at one end to keep it spread. This end of the banner should be securely fastened to the fork of the Sacred Pole other than that to which the Fetish is bound. The Fetish and banner should be so securely fastened that they will not be loosened by blows or shooting with arrows.

While the Superior is preparing the Fetish and banner, men whose hands are painted red should prepare the Sacred Pole for erection by tying to it thongs with which to pull it erect. Then a *heyoka* to whom the Winged God has granted a communication should loosely tie to each fork of the Sacred Pole the black images of a man and a buffalo, so that when the pole is erect they will be above the Fetish and the banner, and so that they can be brought down by blows or shooting with arrows.

Then at the command of the Superior the men with red hands should lift the Sacred Pole to about one fourth the distance to the perpendicular and pause, holding it there while the herald proclaims that the Sacred Pole is going up. The people should assemble about the Dance Lodge, men and women grouped apart. At the command of the Superior the men with red hands should lift the pole half way to the perpendicular and pause. During this pause those who wish to do so should make offerings to the Earth by placing the articles offered in the hole at the Sacred Spot. When these offerings are made the Superior should again command the red-handed men to lift the pole and they should raise it to about three-fourths of perpendicular and there pause. Then the herald should proclaim that the Gods elevated on the Sacred Pole must prevail in the camp. Then the Superior should command the men to raise the Sacred Pole erect and they should lift and pull it so with its butt in the hole at the Sacred Spot. When the pole

is erect the digger should replace the dirt taken from the hole and tamp it about the pole so that it will stand firmly when bearing the weight of a struggling man.

Then the people may shout the names of *Iya* and *Gnaski* and protest that these Gods prevail in the camp. Immediately, men and women commingle and then follows a period of license when they banter each other and jest of sexual things. At that time a man or a woman may be familiar with one of the opposite sex in a manner that would be an indignity at other times, and the ribald merriment may become boisterous.

When the Superior sees fit, he should command the herald to proclaim that the escort and the warriors come and dance the war dance and drive the obscene Gods from the camp. Those thus called should equip themselves as if for battle and come into the Dance Lodge. There they should dance the war dance on the uncovered space, hooting the obscene Gods hung on the Sacred Pole and shooting and throwing and striking at them until they fall. When these obscene Gods fall, the warriors should strike and trample them as they dance the victory dance and the women should shout their approval and ululate for joy. The Superior should quickly make an incense of buffalo chips on the altar, to appease the elevated Fetish and when the chips have burned to coals he should scorch the fallen images on these coals and thereby destroy their potency for evil. Then he should lean the dried buffalo penis against the Sacred Pole with a pipe beside it, thus making effective the potency of the Fetish to maintain decency in the camp. He should then sprinkle a covering of cedar leaves and twigs over the altar, for these are potent to ward against the anti-natural conduct of the Winged God and of the *heyoka*. The warriors should continue to dance the victory dance, stamping and striking uneven places on the uncovered space until it is made sufficiently level to dance upon easily.

In the meantime, the Mentors and attendants should prepare the Dance Lodge for the forms of the Sun Dance that their Candidates are to dance. For those who are to dance the second form, the buffalo heads should be placed beside the Sacred Pole; for those to dance the third form, the stakes should be fixed upright firmly in the ground of the uncovered space; for those to dance the fourth form, the thongs should be fixed to the Sacred Pole, and for those to dance the fourth form actually suspended, the thongs should be passed through the fork of the Sacred Pole.

When the warriors stop dancing they should leave the Dance Lodge. Then the musicians should bring a dance drum and fix it on its supports not far from the entrance on the covered space at the left of the Dance Lodge, and they should place four or eight rattles beside the drum. The attendants should bring the dried buffalo hide with the hair on and the

buffalo tails attached to handles, and place them next to the drum toward the honor place in the lodge. The mothers who intend to have their babes' ears pierced should make a bed of sage for each babe, placing them at the inner edge of the covered space, between the articles already placed and the uncovered space.

When these things are done, the Dance Lodge is prepared for the Sun Dance and all should go from it and none enter it until after the Candidates enter to dance. In the meantime, the women should prepare the feast of the Shamans and when all come from the Dance Lodge it should be served, first to the Shamans, who should sit near the council lodge and then to the people, who should sit about the Shamans. During this feast the Shamans may intone addresses to the Gods, or either of Them, but all others should eat in silence. As the Sun is almost disappearing from sight the Shamans should first offer smoke to the Four Winds and then to the Sun and invoke His approbation of what has been done and what is to be done and the people should respond by shouting, "*Nunwe*," which means, "May it be so."

At dusk all the people should go to their tipis and remain quietly there until the morrow. When it is dark the Superior and Mentors should go in procession to drive away the evil beings, as they did on the previous night. Then they should visit the Candidates to give them the last aid and instructions they will receive in the Sacred Lodge. This will complete the formalities of the third holy day.

#### GREETING THE SUN ON THE FOURTH, OR MID-YEAR DAY.

The Oglala regard the fourth holy day above all other days, for it is the mid-year day. They anticipate a joyful time on that day, whether on their part it is devoted to ceremonies or spent as a mere holiday. Therefore, they are apt to be astir before dawn. Just before dawn, the herald should make a proclamation that the people prepare themselves to appear before the face of the Sun and all should bedeck themselves with their best attire and ornaments and wear or carry such insignia as they are entitled to have. As the Sun appears, the Shamans, Superior, and Mentors should be at the top of a nearby hill and greet Him as on previous mornings. Then a Shaman should invoke the Sky to give strength and endurance to the Candidates so that they all may dance the Sun Dance to its completion. Another Shaman should invoke the Bear God to give wisdom to the Superior and the Mentors, so that the ceremony held that day may be acceptable to the Gods.

They should then return to the camp and the Superior and Mentors

should assemble in the council lodge to deliberate relative to the proceedings on that day. While they are deliberating, the vows of the young braves should be made in the following manner:— Young men who take part in this charge thereby obligate themselves in the presence of the Sun, each to do his duty as a warrior against an enemy of the people. The braves should form in line near the chief place of the camp and at a signal run to, and four times around, the Dance Lodge. They should repeat this from the north, east, and south sides of the areas. Then the people should assemble on both sides of the Sun Trail and the Superior and Mentors should go in procession from the council lodge to the Sacred Lodge, each intoning prayers to his Fetish as he marches.

#### PREPARATION OF THE CANDIDATES.

When they arrive at the Sacred Lodge they should go around it four times, enter, and array the Candidates for the dance. Each Mentor should paint his candidate's feet and hands red: Then he should place the symbolic color of the Sky on him so as to indicate the form of the dance he is to do. If he is to dance the second form, a stripe of blue should be painted across his shoulders; if the third form, across his shoulders and chest; if the fourth form, across his chest and forehead. Then he should paint on the person of the Candidate the design he devised to be the Candidate's totem. Then he should fasten about the Candidate's waist the red skirt, place around his shoulders the otterskin cape, on his arms the buffalo hair armlets, around his ankles the rabbitskin anklets, and then place such insignia as the Candidate is entitled to wear. He should then place on the Candidate's head, a wreath of sage and in his right hand a wisp of sage.

When all the Candidates are arrayed, the leader should lift the ornamented buffalo head and carry it as if it were looking in the direction he moves. Then the Candidates and Mentors should come out of the Sacred Lodge, the leader first. They should form for a procession, the Superior in front, next after him the leader, and then the other Candidates and Mentors, side by side. When they come out of the Sacred Lodge, the attendants should immediately take it down, and carrying the robes of the Candidates, follow in the procession. The procession should move on the trail of the Sun, on the south side of the stakes. As they approach a stake anyone wishing to make an offering to the Sun may place it on the stake and anyone who wishes to do so may take the offering, when it becomes the property of the one who takes it. When the Superior arrives at a stake he should pause a moment and after the Candidates pass a stake the attend-

ants should immediately pull it from the ground. Thus, the Sacred Lodge and the Sun trail are demolished as soon as the Candidates have used them, so that no one can profane them. While marching on the Sun Trail the Candidates should wail as if mourning, and the Mentors should intone prayers to their Fetishes.

When the procession arrives at the Dance Lodge it should pause at the entrance and the Candidates should face the Sun and wail. Then the procession should pass four times around the Dance Lodge, pausing each time it comes to the entrance, and each time the Candidates should wail as before. Then the procession should enter the Dance Lodge and go on the left side to the place of honor. The leader should make three feints at placing the ornamented buffalo head on the altar, and at the fourth, should place it there so that it will face the Sacred Pole. The attendants should place the robes of the Candidates, that of the leader beside the place of honor, and the others toward the entrance on the left covered space.

Then the Candidates with the Mentor beside each, should recline on his robe and the Superior should seat himself at the place of honor. When the Mentors and Candidates are placed, the others who are entitled to occupy the Dance Lodge should enter and take their places; the musicians grouped about the drum; the female attendants near them; the women who chopped the Sacred Tree between them and the entrance; the mothers whose babes' ears are to be pierced beside the sage beds they have prepared.

Then such people as wish to occupy the Dance Lodge may enter and take places in the right covered space; these usually are those who have previously danced the Sun Dance; those who are to dance the first form; and men prominent in the various bands. A woman seldom occupies a place on the right covered space. If a stranger, or a very old person is seen in the Dance Lodge at any time, the red marshals should investigate him, and if he cannot satisfactorily explain his presence they should expel him from the lodge, for *Waziya*, the wizard, may thus attempt to be present. A strange young man should be treated in like manner, so that *Iktomi* may not play his tricks during the ceremony.

#### INSTALLATION OF THE DANCERS.

When the Dance Lodge is occupied, the Superior may harangue concerning the Sun Dance and then he should fill and light a pipe and pass it so that all in the lodge may smoke in communion, and while doing so, the attendants should make a fire of buffalo chips on the altar. The Superior should make an abundant incense of sweetgrass on this fire. Thus, all

will be harmonized with the potency of the Buffalo God that should prevail during the ceremony. Then the Superior should command the Candidates to stand and be made dancers. They should stand, and the Mentors should each give the whistle to his Candidate and tell him that when he is dancing he must continually sound the whistle and gaze at the Sun. If the Candidate is to dance the fourth form for the purpose of becoming a Shaman, his Mentor should place in his right hand a small hoop that should be bound with thongs so as to divide its enclosure into four equal parts and it may be ornamented in any manner. The Mentor should inform the Candidate in a harangue that the people can hear that this hoop is an emblem of the Sky, of the Four Winds, of time, of all things that grow, and of all things that the Lakota make that are circular; that only those who are renowned are entitled to wear, or place the hoops on their tipis; and that if he dances the Sun Dance to its completion he will be entitled to this insignium.

When these things are done the Superior should announce and the red herald should proclaim that the Candidates are now the dancers. The people ought to cheer with shouts of approbation and laud the dancers.

With this announcement the ceremonial relation of Mentor and Candidate ceases and those who were Mentors should take places with the people in the right covered space, except that the Superior continues as such and is entitled to sit at the place of honor in the Dance Lodge, but has only supervisory authority over the rites that are to be held in the lodge. From this time until the dance is completed the leader should conduct the ceremony.

#### THE BUFFALO DANCE.

The remaining rites are the dances, of which there must be two, though there may be others. These two are the Buffalo Dance and the Sun-Gazing Dance. These dances are divided into periods. The Buffalo Dance has four periods and the Sun-Gazing Dance must have four and may have an indefinite number of periods. A period consists of the dance proper and the intermission. The dancing must take place while the music is sounded; an intermission is the interval between the dancing. The leader should give the signal for the musicians to begin sounding the music for each period and the musicians should repeat the song for each period four times.

The Buffalo Dance should be danced only by those who are to dance the second, third, or the fourth form of the Sun Dance and by those who have danced this dance on some former occasion. It is danced as follows:—The leader should go to the altar and feign three times to lift the ornamented buffalo head; the fourth time he should lift it and place it on the uncovered

space so that the dancers can surround it. The dancers should form in a circle about this head when the leader should signal for the music to begin and when it does, the dancers should dance the step of the Buffalo Dance. This step should be synchronous with the beat of the drum, each second beat being emphatic; at the emphatic beat the feet are alternately brought to the ground with a scraping motion. This is done to imitate the pawing of a buffalo bull in rage or defiance and to manifest a defiant bravery of the dancers equal to that of the buffalo bull. During this dance those who are to dance the Sun Dance must keep the whistles in their mouths, but should not sound them. While dancing they must gaze continually at the ornamented buffalo head. The red marshals should watch them, and if one of them ceases to gaze at this head they should admonish him; and if he persists in looking away from it they should conduct him to his robe. One thus removed from this dance loses the privilege of becoming a buffalo man. Those who dance the four periods of this dance become buffalo men. The red herald should proclaim that they are buffalo men and the people should shout and sing, lauding them with such praises as these:—"You now belong to the people of the Sun; you now will not have to pay the price when you take a woman for your wife; you now will have many children who will honor you; you now may receive a communication from the Sun."

The attendants should then each give to his dancer one of the buffalo tails attached to a handle and the buffalo men should sit about the dried buffalo skin and when they sing should drum on it with the tails.

#### PIERCING CHILDREN'S EARS.

During the next rite the musicians should remain silent and the buffalo men should sing and drum as often and when the leader deems fit. When the Buffalo men are seated about the buffalo skin the mothers should place the babes whose ears are to be pierced on the beds of sage they have prepared, and standing, should announce the names of those they have chosen to pierce the ears. Those thus named should come and stand beside the women who have chosen them. They should each have a piercing implement and a suitable block of wood. First each should harangue, reciting the deeds he has done that make him eligible to perform this rite. During this harangue the father of the babe should come and stand beside its mother and when the speech is finished the piercer should exhort the parents, telling them that this rite obligates the parents to rear the babe so that it will conform to the laws and customs of the Oglala and that the ears thus pierced signify a loyalty to these laws and customs. He should then kneel

at the head of the babe and place the block under the lobe of one ear and quickly pierce it with his sharp-pointed implement. Then he should pierce the other ear in a like manner. The parents should not heed the cries of the babe until its ears have been pierced and then the mother should take it and comfort it. The mothers should announce the names of the piercers in rapid succession and they should come forward and begin their duties at once. Thus, this rite may be performed by a number simultaneously and the harangues, cries of the babes, and songs of the buffalo men, may make an exciting hubbub to which the people may add in their enthusiasm.

#### THE SUN-GAZE DANCE.

When this rite is over, the fourth intermission of the Buffalo Dance is completed and the buffalo men should return to their robes. The Sun-Gaze Dance should immediately follow. There are four acts in this dance: the capture, the torture, the captivity, and the escape, which should be performed in the order named. The leader should give the signal for the beginning of the first act, when the buffalo men should stand, and in rapid succession announce the name of those chosen to be captors. When practicable, the one so chosen should be a buffalo man and be notified in advance so that he may be prepared to do his part. When his name is announced he should stand beside the one who chose him and relate the deeds that make him eligible. Thus, at one time there may be several captors haranguing, creating or augmenting the enthusiasm of the people. When the harangues are over the captors should come together a short distance from the dancers and feign discovery of the dancers as enemies. They should shout the war cry and rush upon the dancers, each grasp his dancer about the waist, wrestle with him, throw him prone, and loudly announce that he has captured an enemy. When all the dancers are thus made captive, their captors should feign to consult together, and determine to torture the captives. This ends the first act.

In the second act, the captors should each pierce the flesh of his captive and make wounds sufficient to accomplish the form of the Sun-Gaze Dance he is to dance. If he is to dance the second form, the captor should turn his captive's body face down and then grasp the skin and flesh of his back at one side of the spine, draw them out as far as possible, and pierce cross-wise through the flesh with a sharp-pointed implement, so as to make a wound that the sharp-pointed stick provided may pass through; then the captor should make a like wound on the other side of the spine. If the captive is to dance the third form, his captor should grasp the skin and flesh

of the captive's breast, draw them out as far as possible, and pierce through the flesh, making a wound that will permit the sharp-pointed stick to pass through it; then he should make a like wound through the flesh of the captive's other breast; then he should turn the captive so that he will be face down and make like wounds on the back over each shoulder blade. If he is to dance the fourth form, the Captor should in like manner make wounds through each of the captive's breasts. When the wounds have been made, the captors should thrust through each wound one of the pointed sticks provided with the equipment and this concludes the second act. During this act, the maidens should stand beside the captives and encourage them to bear the torture without flinching and to smile and sing a song of defiance.

The maidens may wipe the blood that flows from the wounds with wisps of sweetgrass, for the incense made of sweetgrass with such blood on it is potent to insure constancy and reciprocity in love. While the tortures are inflicted, the musicians drum, rattle, and sing a war song. The female relatives of the captives should wail as in bereavement. The captors should sing victory songs and the people may shout or sing or ululate, so that the emotions may be wrought to a high pitch when the third act begins.

The act of captivity opens the Sun-Gaze Dance which begins with the binding of the captives, each according to the form he is to dance. If for the first form, the captor should bind to the sticks through the wounds with strong thongs as many of the buffalo heads provided as the captives chooses; if for the third form, the captor should bind to the sticks thrust through the wounds four strong thongs securely fastened to four posts, so that the dancer will be in the midst of the posts; if for the fourth form, the captor should bind the sticks through the wounds with strong thongs that are securely fastened to the Sacred Pole; or if the dancer is to dance actually suspended, the thongs bound to the sticks should pass through the fork of the Sacred Pole so that the dancer can be drawn from the ground or lowered to it. The thongs should be those provided with the equipment and should be so securely fastened that the most violent movement of the dancers will not loosen them, for if they become loosened while the dancers are dancing it is a sign that *Iktomi* has played his tricks to make the ceremony ridiculous.

There are twenty-four songs for the Sun-Gazing Dance, each of which, except the first and last, may be repeated as often as necessary to supply music for the periods. The first is the song of the captive and should be sung in slow measure, and low plaintive tones, the drum and rattles sounding gently. The last is a song of victory that should be sung only when the

dance is completed and then in loud and joyous tones, the drum and rattles sounding vigorously.

When the captives are all bound, the leader should give the signal for the dance to begin and then the dancers who are to dance the first form should come upon the uncovered space and those who are to dance the fourth form actually suspended should be hoisted by the thongs until they cannot touch the ground with their feet. Then the leader should signal the musicians and they should sing the first song. The dancers should dance during the first period with a slow and gentle step, the captives, except those suspended, feigning to try their bonds. The female relatives may wail and ululate and the people may shout and encourage them to attempt an escape.

Each period, when the intermission begins, the dancers should sit or recline to rest, the suspended ones being lowered to the ground for this purpose. Then the attendants, the maidens, and the female attendants should give the dancers such refreshment as the rite will permit. If the dancers perspire, the attendants should wipe the perspiration away with wisps of sage. If one dances far into the night, a woman who loves him may chew a little bark of the cottonwood, and mingle it with water, and in a surreptitious manner give him of this to drink and this will be connived at by the Superior.

At the signal of the leader to begin the second period, the attendants should place the buffalo tails in the hands of the captives, and the captors should feign to discover that the captives are buffalo men whom they should befriend. Then they should rush to the captives and protest that they are friends who will help them to escape from captivity. After this they are called the friends and each should remain by his dancer while he dances and should give him such aid to free him from his bonds as the rite will permit. At the signal of the leader the musicians should begin the second song and the dancers should dance as they did during the first period, but more vigorously. But they should not attempt to free themselves from their bonds until during, or after, the fourth period. The music and dancing should increase in vigor with each period and the enthusiasm of the people will probably increase in proportion until it becomes tumultuous.

The third period should be similar to the second, and the fourth similar to the third, except that while dancing during the fourth period the dancers should pull and jerk violently against their bonds and try to tear themselves free. During each of the following periods, the dancing should be similar to that during the fourth period. During each intermission, the attendants, the maidens, and the female attendants should minister to the comfort of the dancers. A dancer should dance during each period until he escapes

captivity which is accomplished by being freed from his bonds. If he escapes by tearing the sticks from the wounds, he has danced the Sun Dance to its completion in the most effective manner. But a dancer may swoon before he escapes, and if he does so his friend should unfasten his bonds and take the sticks from his wounds, and then it is considered that he has danced the Sun Dance to its completion in the least effective manner. Or, a dancer may become so exhausted that he cannot make a strong effort to free himself; if so, his female relatives may throw weighty things on the thongs that bind him to tear them loose. If this does not do so, they may offer the friend a valuable present if he will aid the dancer to escape.

Then the friend may grasp the dancer about the waist and add his strength to the effort to tear the sticks from the wounds. If they succeed, it is considered that the dancer has danced the Sun Dance to its completion in a less effective manner than if the sticks had been torn from the wounds by the dancer unaided. It is most meritorious to dance until the sticks are torn from the wounds or until the leader announces that the Sun Dance is finished.

Each dancer escapes from captivity when he is freed from his bonds and his freedom should be celebrated by the people of his band accompanying him from the Dance Lodge to his tipi, his attendant, and a maiden supporting him as he goes there.

#### THE SCALP-STAFF DANCE.

During any period anyone who has danced the Sun Dance to its completion may cause blood to flow from a wound on his person, lay a suitable offering to the Sun on the altar and join the dancers, dancing the first form for as many periods as he wishes. Anyone may join the singing of the songs by the musicians. During the intermission the Superior may permit haranguing, or the performance of anything not inconsistent with the Sun Dance. During the fourth intermission the Scalp-Staff dance should be given in the following manner:— Only tried warriors should dance this dance and it should be conducted by one who carries a scalp-staff. The dancers should form side by side in line from near the entrance of the Dance Lodge, across the left side of the uncovered space toward the place of honor, with the conductor nearest the entrance. The musicians should sing a scalp song, sounding the drum and rattles in time to it, and the warriors should dance without moving from the place where they stand, except that the conductor should dance from his position and along in front of the line, waving the scalp on his staff down and up in front of each warrior and then

dance behind the line back to his position, waving the scalp up and down behind each warrior. Then each warrior who carries a scalp-staff should dance along the line in a like manner. While dancing, the warriors may utter the cry of "U-hu-hu-hu," as it is uttered to express intense satisfaction. They may utter it repeatedly. When all who carry scalp-staffs have danced along the line this dance is completed.

During an intermission the woman's dance ought to be danced in the following manner:— The women who wish to dance should form side by side in a line or lines where the warriors formed and the musicians should sing a woman's dance song, sounding the drum and rattles in unison with it. The women should dance the woman's step without moving from the place where they stand. While dancing they may sing, or utter the cry of "U-wu-wu-wu," as it is uttered by women to express pleasure. When the song is sung four times this dance is finished.

#### COMPLETION OF THE CEREMONY.

The Sun-Gazing dance should continue until all the captives have escaped, or until the next day has dawned, when, if they have not escaped, they should be freed from their bonds and the sticks removed from their wounds, and it will be considered that they have been rescued, which is as meritorious as an escape. When all have escaped or been rescued from captivity, the leader should stand at the entrance of the Dance Lodge and announce that the Sun Dance is finished. The red herald should proclaim this announcement throughout the camp and immediately all should come out of the Dance Lodge and the organization of the ceremonial camp is terminated and the ordinary organization of the camps revived.

The marshals of the camps should require that the tipis and lodges, except the Dance Lodge, be quickly taken down and moved from the ceremonial camp circle. They may permit the people to take such parts of the Dance Lodge as they wish, but they should not permit any one to disturb the Sacred Pole. It should be left to stand with the Fetish and banner of the Shamans at its top until the Four Winds or the Winged God cast it down. When the tipis are moved from the ceremonial camp circle, each band should go its way and resume its ordinary vocations, but the individuals who have danced the Sun Dance may expect a vision in which there will be a communication from the Sun. This may be granted at any place or time before the dispersion of the next winter camp. One who danced the Sun Dance for the purpose of becoming a Shaman should choose a Shaman for his tutor and should be that Shaman's pupil until he pro-

nounces him to be fit to have the Fetish and exercise the functions of a Shaman. Those who have danced the Sun Dance for other purposes should fit themselves for such purposes.

A Shaman may alter or forbid any rite or custom pertaining to the Sun Dance, to effect either or all of the constituents. In fact, the form of the ceremony rests with the Shamans, they being the sole authority.

## THE HUNKA CEREMONY.

The Hunka ceremony is a Lakota ceremony in which two persons adopt the *Hunka* relationship toward each other and thereby both assume a more restricted relationship with all for whom the ceremony has been performed. The term, *Hunka*,<sup>1</sup> expresses the relationship of each of the two persons to the other, while the term, *Hunkaya*, expresses their relationship to all others for whom the ceremony has been performed. The term, *Hunkayapi*, designates the persons for whom the ceremony has been performed.

The relationship of *Hunka* is difficult to define, for it is neither of the nature of a brotherhood, nor of kindred. It binds each to his *Hunka* by ties of fidelity stronger than friendship, brotherhood, or family. The relationship of *Hunkaya* is similar to that which the members of a society bear toward each other, but the *Hunkayapi* have no organization as a society and recognize no distinction among themselves as *Hunkaya*. *Hunka* may be a relationship somewhat like that of parent and child, when one is much older or more experienced than the other. In such case, the older is *Hunka Ate* to the younger, while the younger is simply *Hunka* to the older. If a *Hunka Ate* has the confidence of the people, they, whether *Hunkayapi* or not, may title him *Mihunka*, which indicates reverential respect.

The practice of assuming the *Hunka* relationship has existed among the Lakota since ancient times. It is probable that at first there was little ceremony other than an agreement between two persons; but that when the practice became more common the Shamans assumed control, adding rites until the ceremony assumed its present form. The most common designation of the ceremony is, "They Waved Horse-tails over Each Other." This appears to fix the time when the ceremony was given its present form, for it alludes to a prominent rite of the ceremony. According to the Oglala calendar a certain year is designated as "When They Waved Horse-tails

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<sup>1</sup> According to the late Rev. W. J. Cleveland, the term *hunka*, while conforming to Dakota phonetics appears to be a foreign word. This opinion of Rev. Cleveland deserves serious consideration because of his perfect familiarity with the language. The Oglala conception of the term is a kind of relation like that of a brother, father, mother, sister, or child and parent. The relationship is not exactly such as we consider fraternal, but was looked upon by the Dakota as approximately the same as blood kin. In fact, the *hunka* relationship often takes precedence over blood relationship. Now, if it turns out that Rev. Cleveland's theory is correct, then we may suspect that there is some relation between this term and the Pawnee term, *hako*, which has been used by Miss Fletcher as the name for a similar ceremony. As just stated, there are historical reasons for believing that the Pawnee are chiefly responsible for the introduction of this ceremony to the other tribes of the Plains.—Editor.

over Each Other." The Lakota custom was to name each year according to some event that was peculiar to, or first noticeable, during that year. Therefore, it is probable that the year "When They Waved Horse-tails over Each Other" was the year when the *Hunka* ceremony was first performed with the rite of waving horse-tails over each other, or, at least, the year when this rite was first noticeable. This year corresponds to A.D. 1805. Perhaps at that time the horse was a rare animal to the Lakota and as its tail was the most noticeable feature, the Lakota considered it sacred, with the potency of sacred things, in the same manner as they considered sacred the tail of a buffalo. The old Lakota still so consider horse-tails and wave them over others to cause an amicable influence.<sup>1</sup>

Any two persons may become *Hunka*, provided a Shaman will perform the ceremony. This proviso makes it difficult for a white man to become a *Hunka*, for the Shamans are reluctant to perform the ceremony in such cases. Any two Oglala may become *Hunka*, provided one who is entitled to paint his hands red will perform the ceremony, but the ceremony is most esteemed when it is performed by a Shaman. One who wishes to become *Hunka* should first consult with the one with whom he desires to form that relationship; or, if he wishes to become *Hunka* with a child, he should consult with the parent, or the one who controls the child. If the consultants do not agree the matter should be abandoned. If they agree, they may proceed, and, in case one of them represents a child, he should represent it during the ceremony, except in the rite of placing the mark or badge of a *Hunka*, which should be placed on the person of the child to become a *Hunka*. Having agreed to become *Hunka* they should agree as to who shall perform the ceremony. He must be either a Shaman, or one who is entitled to paint his hands red and should know the rites and how and when to perform them.

He should be notified in sufficient time to enable him to prepare for the ceremony, or if he should refuse, to choose another. When this is done, then suitable provision for the ceremony should be made. When two adults are to become *Hunka* it is expected that they will share alike in making the provision, but if an older person desires to become *Hunka* with a child, he should provide most for the occasion. The requirements are sufficient food

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<sup>1</sup> This ceremony is essentially the same as the Hako of the Pawnee of which we have a published account. It also appears to be a form of the ceremony known to early explorers as the "Waving the Calumet," though not necessarily identical with it. If 1805 is really the date for its introduction to the Oglala, then they can make no claims to its origination, except in so far as they may have modified the ritual to bring it into harmony with their own ceremonial concepts. Further, since an important part of the *Hunka* wand stick is the horse's tail and since the ceremony is sometimes spoken of as the "waving of horses' tails over one," we must infer that the ceremony took its present form since the introduction of the horse.— Editor.

for the feasts, articles for presents, and the material and implements used in the rites. Those who are to provide should give as liberally as is within their power, even to the extent of impoverishing themselves. Their kindred and friends should aid them, for the degree of the ceremony and the notability of the occasion is in proportion to the feasts and presents expected.

#### EQUIPMENT FOR THE CEREMONY.

The implements required for the rites are:—

1. To be provided by the participants:
  - 2 *Hunka* wands
  - 2 rattles
  - 1 ear of corn
  - 1 fire carrier
  - 1 counting rod
  - 1 scaffold
  - 1 drum
2. To be provided by the conductor:
  - 1 ceremonial pipe
  - 1 buffalo skull with the horns attached
  - 1 fetish, or ceremonial bag

The materials to be used in the rites are:—

1. To be supplied by the participants:
  - Meat, both fat and lean
  - Sweetgrass
  - Sage
2. To be supplied by the conductor:
  - Cansasa*, or smoking material
  - Paints, red, blue, yellow, and green

The *Hunka* wands are often called the Horse-tails. Each of them should be a wooden rod about four spans long, round and tapering from the size of a man's great toe at the larger end to the size of a man's little finger at the smaller end. About one third the length from the larger end, six quills from the tail of the golden eagle should be loosely attached by their calami and shafts in such manner that when the rod is held horizontally, the quills radiate from the wand with the webs pointing from the larger end. About one third the length of the rod from the smaller end, a bunch of hair from a horse-tail should be attached, making a tassel. A similar tassel should be attached to the smaller end by binding it to the rod with buffalo hair. The rod should be painted red and may be ornamented in any additional manner.

The rattles should be globular receptacles made of rawhide about the

size of a man's fist. They should contain something that will make a rattling noise when shaken, such as small pebbles, and should be attached to handles about a span long. Opposite each handle which should be wrapped with buffalo hair, an eagle plume should be attached. The handles and receptacles should be painted red.

The ear of corn should be perfect, with the husk removed, and should be rigidly bound to a wooden rod. The rod should be about three spans long, round, and about as thick as a man's little finger; one end to which an eagle plume should be attached, should project about a hand breadth beyond the tip of the ear of corn. The rod should be painted red and the ear of corn should be painted with four stripes, one each of red, blue, yellow, and green.

The fire-carrier should be a wooden rod about four spans long, round, and as thick as a man's great toe. It should be split at one end and the split held apart by a wooden wedge to make a fork with which burning coals can be lifted and carried. It should be painted red.

The counting rod should be a round wooden rod, about as long as the height of a short woman. It should be a little larger around than a man's thumb. One end should be curved through about a quarter of a circle a span in diameter and on the opposite side at the beginning of this curve there should be a protuberance of about a thumb breadth in height. The rod should be painted red.

The scaffold should consist of three round wooden rods, each about as large around as a man's finger. One should be about three spans in length and each of the others about two spans. The two shorter should each be pointed at one end and forked at the other, so that when thrust into the ground they may support the longer rod. All three rods should be painted red.

These are all the implements that are peculiar to the *Hunka* ceremony; all the other implements and materials have been described in the section on the Sun dance.

There are several essential rites peculiar to the *Hunka* ceremony. These consist of the formal uses of the wands, rattles, ear of corn, and scaffold to induce the *Hunkaya*, or *Hunka*, relationship. The other rites are common to other ceremonies. These rites, which have all been explained in connection with the Sun dance, are smoking the pipe in communion, making incense, offering the pipe to the Gods, and invoking the potency of the Buffalo God.

The conductor of the *Hunka* ceremony may add to the above-mentioned rites as many appropriate rites as he deems fitting for the occasion. Thus, the *Hunka* ceremony may range from a very simple affair to an elaborate event.

## ORDER OF CEREMONY.

The following is a description of an elaborate performance of the ceremony observed by the author. Fortunately, the interpreter at the ceremony was Bruce Means, who was able to interpret the old forms of Lakota speech. One of those made *Hunka* at this ceremony gave the information relative to the preliminaries, thus enabling the author to give quotations. The informant desired to be *Hunka* with a much older and experienced man in order that the latter might be his *Hunka Ate*, therefore he proceeded in the following formal manner. He chose two friends, gave them a feast, and requested them to convey his proposition to the man he wished as his *Hunka*. He gave them presents which they took to the man, telling him what their friend wished. He accepted the presents which was the equivalent of an agreement with the desires of their friend. Then the young man gave a feast and invited his two friends and the older man to partake of it with him. After the feast, they sat in a tipi around a fire of burning coals and the older man, being a Shaman, filled and lighted a pipe in a formal manner, moving it in circles four times over the fire and said, "Spirit Pipe we smoke this pipe to you. Let your power come to it so that the spirit in the smoke may go to the *Taku Wakan*." First he, and then the others, smoked in communion, each before smoking, moving the pipe in a circle four times over the fire, and invoking one or another of the Four Winds to grant a good day for the *Hunka* ceremony. Then the Shaman moved the mouthpiece in a circle, first pointing towards the west, then the north, east, south, and back towards the west again, and then upwards, said, "*Tate*, we offered smoke to your sons. Command them to give us a good day for the *Hunka* ceremony." The four then agreed upon the time and place for the performance of the ceremony and chose an old Shaman to conduct it.

A short time after this, the four went to the tipi of the old Shaman and there agreed upon the following organization for the ceremony. The old Shaman, by virtue of their choice, became the *Walowan*, or Conductor. He appointed a *Wowasi*, or Assistant, a *Patapaowa*, or Register, and the four agreed upon two men to have charge of the wands, two to have charge of the rattles, one to have charge of the ear of corn, and a drummer. They discussed as to whom invitation wands should be sent and such other matters relative to the ceremony as occurred to them. Soon thereafter the younger man sent invitation wands to such as were to be considered honored guests. All who wished might attend such ceremonies and would be welcomed, but only such as had received wands would be considered invited guests. In this case, the older man had little means, so the younger man

and his kindred, supplied most of the provisions for the occasion. He borrowed old wands, rattles, rod, and scaffold, for old implements of this kind were considered more efficacious than new ones.

The day before the ceremony was to be performed the author went to the place where it was to be held and found many people already there, their tipis placed so as to form a camp circle. Others continued to arrive that day, and all placed their tipis in the circle. A festive spirit prevailed and that evening the people grouped according to their inclinations, some to talk, some to sing, and some to play games. After dark, an old woman went to the top of a hill and chanted a warning to the wolf to stay away from the camp, and tell its master, *Wazi*, to do so. Then she ululated shrilly several times.

#### THE CEREMONY.

At dawn of the next day the people were astir, preparing the morning meal, and for the ceremony of the day. As the sun appeared over the horizon, the Conductor faced it and chanted an invocation to *Wi*, invoking that God to speak for the people to *Taku Wakan*, the Gods of the weather. While he was doing so the people remained in a reverential attitude. Immediately after his invocation, women erected a large tipi to be used as the ceremonial lodge with its door toward the entrance of the camp circle, that is, toward the east. Near the south side of the area, with its door toward the south, they erected a smaller tipi to be used as the preparation tipi. On the previous day, the Conductor had appointed an *akicita*, or marshal, of the camp, and he now appeared, with three black stripes painted perpendicularly on his right cheek as the insignum of his office.

Soon after the Conductor returned to his tipi he began chanting and drumming in a low tone and continued so for some time. Then the people began to appear in gala attire, painted and decorated according to their fancies, and wearing such insignia as they were entitled to have: the *Hunkayapi*, with the red stripes on their foreheads; the buffalo women with their hair partings marked in red. When the Conductor came from his tipi his hands and body were painted red and his face was striped in red; red zigzag lines decorated his arms. These decorations were all symbolical, as explained in the section on the Sun dance (p. 82). His regalia as the Conductor consisted of a headdress or cap made of tanned skin, to which a small buffalo horn was attached at each side so as to stand out from the head as the horns do on a buffalo. The cap was further adorned with hawk quills and strips of white weaselskin. In his right hand he held the ceremonial pipe and in his left a hawkskin. The latter was his *wasicun*, or

ceremonial pouch. As he came forth, he chanted a song, the substance of which was that he was wise and powerful and could communicate with the Gods. He ordered the Assistant and the Recorder to prepare the ceremonial lodge. This they did by smoothing and levelling the *catku* and preparing an altar between it and the fireplace. They placed a stone beside the altar and a buffalo skull on it. Then they erected the scaffold at the south side of the altar. The father of the younger man brought meat, both fat and lean, and hung it on the scaffold. A drum was placed inside at the left by the door of the lodge.

When this was done the Conductor inspected the lodge and then brought from his tipi the wands, rattles, and counting rod, and gave them to those chosen to take charge of them, the Assistant having the fire carrier and the Recorder the counting rod. The Conductor then began chanting and marching around the area inside the camp circle, a procession forming and following him in this order: first, those who were to participate in the ceremony, then the *Hunkayapi*, and finally, the people. The procession marched four times around, some of the people soberly, and others jovially talking and laughing.

#### THE SYMBOLIC CAPTURE.

When the procession began, the younger man and his two friends entered the preparation tipi, pulling down and tying the flap. When the procession had gone the fourth time around the circle, the Conductor said, "My friends, we have gone around the world. *Yata* has closed the door on *Wakinyan*. *Iktomi* has gone to the home of *Iya*. *Tatanka* is in the lodge." This speech was a metaphor meaning that by the formal march in every direction immunity from lightning was secured; *Iktomi*, the imp of mischief and disturber of ceremonies, was driven away; and the Buffalo, the patron God of ceremonies, prevailed in the camp. The Conductor then went to the preparation tipi and said, "The enemy is in this tipi. Who will help me take him?" The older man who was to be made *Hunka* said, "I will."

The Conductor asked him, "Are you *Hunka*?" He replied, "I am *Hunka*." Then the Conductor cried in a loud voice, "*Hunka* must die for each other." He then said, "We will capture the enemy." He rushed to the door of the tipi, cut the strings that tied the flap, and he and the older man went in hurriedly. In a few moments, they came out leading the younger man by the arms, the Conductor singing the song of a returning warrior. They led the younger man toward the ceremonial lodge, singing as they went. The people followed them, some joining in the song. When they came to the lodge the Conductor said, "We will kill the enemy, but if

anyone will take him for *Hunka* we will not kill him." The older man said, "I will take him for my *Hunka*. Take him into the lodge." The older man conducted the younger into the lodge and sat him between the altar and the fireplace, facing the altar.

As many as the lodge would accommodate then entered it and seated themselves in the following order: the Assistant at the right of the *catku* and the Recorder at the left of it; men *Hunkayapi* on the right side of the lodge and women *Hunkayapi* on the left; the drummer beside the drum and the bearers of the rattles in front of him. At the right of the Assistant, and in front of the women, were first, the bearer of the ear of corn and next at his right the bearers of the wands. The people who could not have seats inside sat in a circle before the door of the lodge, the men together on the north side and the women on the south. While the people were arranging themselves, the Conductor stood beside the door and sang:—

"The meadow lark my cousin.  
A voice is in the air."

He repeated this song four times. Like all the ceremonial songs of the shamans, this is figurative. It is explained as follows: To the Lakota, the meadow lark is the symbol of fidelity, just as among English-speaking people the dove is the symbol of peace. By claiming relationship to the lark the Shaman claimed power to influence for fidelity. By saying, "A voice is in the air," he implied that the influence for fidelity pervaded the camp. Such vague and indefinite expressions were common among the Lakota and though they are difficult of interpretation, they were comprehended by them.

#### INCENSE AND THE PIPE.

When the Conductor ceased singing this song he entered the lodge and sat at the *catku*. He then filled and lighted a pipe in the formal manner and handed it to the Assistant, who smoked and passed it to the younger man, who also smoked and passed the pipe. It was passed until all in the lodge had smoked in communion, the Conductor smoking last. He emptied the residuum in the pipe carefully beside the *catku* and said, "The grandfather, the father, and the sons are with us. The Earth and the Buffalo are in this lodge. We have smoked together as friends, and the spirit of the pipe has gone up to the Great Spirit. I will now make incense to drive away the evil powers." The meaning of this address is that all the Gods above the world were with them and that those on the world, the Earth and the Buffalo, were in the lodge; that the potency of the mediat-

ing God, *Wohpe*, which abides in the smoke of the pipe, had gone from all in the lodge to the Great Spirit and would propitiate Him.

The Conductor then handed the fire carrier to the Assistant and the counting rod to the Recorder, and commanded the Assistant to bring fire. He brought burning coals and placed them together on the fireplace, using the fire carrier to handle the fire. The Conductor then made incense by first sprinkling sage and then sweetgrass on the fire. While he was doing this, the Assistant arranged the buffalo skull on the altar, propping it up with the stone that had been placed beside the altar, so that it faced the *catku*. Then the Conductor filled the ceremonial pipe with *cansasa*, and the Assistant brought a burning coal on the fire carrier and held it so as to light the pipe. The ceremonial pipe is lighted in this formal manner in order that the potency of the sun, which abides in the fire, may be with the potency of the mediator, which abides in the smoke of the pipe. As the Conductor smoked the ceremonial pipe he said, "Grandmother, you have not taken the horns from this skull. The spirit of the buffalo still watches for *Anpeo*. We will honor these horns."

The Shamans usually addressed the Goddess, the Earth, as Grandmother, It was taught that when the horns fall from the dried skull of a buffalo this Goddess has taken them from it; that the spirit of the buffalo abides in the skull as long as the horns remain on it; that the spirit of the buffalo is as one with the God, the Buffalo; that the God, the Buffalo is the comrade of the God, the Sun, and is most pleased when in His light. *Anpeo* is the *akicita*, or forerunner, of the sun. It is the red aurora. With this explanation the allusive meaning of the address may be comprehended.

#### THE MEAT OFFERING.

While the Conductor was smoking, the Assistant arranged the meat on the scaffold, the lean meat at one end, the fat at the other. Then the Conductor addressed the skull and said, "*Hunka of Tatanka*, this meat was yours, but you gave it to me. If there is any part of it that you wish, tell us and we will give it to you." In this address it is assumed that the meat is the flesh and fat of a buffalo. The spirit in the skull is addressed as *Hunka of Tatanka*, the Buffalo God. The allusion is to the doctrine that the Buffalo God caused the spirits of the buffalo to give their meat to the Lakota; and that when a buffalo was killed for its meat, a portion should be left as an offering to propitiate the spirit.

The Conductor then sprinkled a powder on the meat and said, "My medicine is good. It will make this meat sacred." He then gave the

Assistant sweetgrass and he made incense by sprinkling it on the fire. Over this incense the Conductor prayed as follows:— “Great Spirit be with us this day; West Wind, keep the Winged God in your tipi this day; Sun, we ask that You keep *Iktomi* and *Anog Ite* from this camp this day.” The doctrine is that the God, the West Wind, is the comrade of and has controlling influence over the Winged God, whose voice is thunder, and the glance of whose eye is lightning; that *Iktomi* is an imp of mischief who delights in making ceremonies of no effect and *Anog Ite* is a double, or two-faced woman who foments discord and licentiousness.

Then the Conductor addressed the people and said, “I am a Shaman. I know how to wave the horse-tails as did our grandfathers. I will do it that way now. The young people forget how to do this. Shamans will soon be cold and hungry. This young man wishes to be *Hunka*. I will make him *Hunka* as our grandfathers were made *Hunkayapi*. The Sun looks on us and the Wind is pleased. The Wolf has gone to the hills. The Earth and the Rock and the Buffalo are in this lodge. These Gods will help me make this young man *Hunka*.”

It was taught that the wolf and coyote were the accomplices of *Iktomi* and *Wazi*, the wizard, and did their bidding. The allusive meaning of the latter part of the address is that the Chief of the Gods, the Sun is favorable; the principal God controlling the weather, the Wind; was propitiated; that the accomplices of the mischievous beings had fled from the camp; that the potencies of the Great God, the Earth, were in the altar, and that of the great God, the Rock in the stone on the altar, and that of the *Taku Wakan*, or Relative God, the Buffalo in the buffalo skull, were present in the lodge.

#### PRONOUNCING THEM HUNKA.

The Conductor then carefully emptied the ceremonial pipe on the chopping board which accompanies the ceremonial pipe and gave it to the Assistant, who put the residuum on the fire. This must be done in a formal manner whenever a ceremonial pipe is smoked, for it was considered a sacrilege to dispose of the residuum in a ceremonial pipe in such a manner that it might be trodden under foot. The Conductor then formally filled the pipe with *cansasa*, and lighted it as before, and standing in the door of the lodge, pointed the mouthpiece toward the sun, and said, “Grandfather, we will bring you a grandson this day.” This alludes to the custom of the *Hunkayapi*, who often addressed the Great God, the Sun, as Grandfather, thus indicating that He is the patron God of the *Hunkaya* relationship; and the address meant that another *Hunka* would be made

that day. The Conductor then sat at the *catku* and gave sweetgrass to the Assistant who made incense with it. The Conductor then addressed the younger man, saying, "I will now make you a *Hunka*. I will teach you how to live as a *Hunka*. These men before you whose bodies are painted red are *Mihunkayapi*. They will be *Hunkayapi* to you. When they speak your ears should be open."

Then each of the seven *Mihunka* present made a speech, the substance of each speech being commendation of *Hunkaya*, or a statement of the obligation of a *Hunka* to his *Hunka* and to the *Hunkayapi*, the substance of the latter being that a *Hunka* should give preference to his *Hunka* above all others of mankind, and that they should be willing to give anything to, or do anything for, each other; that they should listen to the Shamans so that they may please all the Gods; that if the *Hunkayapi* do this it will please the Gods, and They will give success in forays against the enemy to get women or horses; that when they seek the enemy the women will sing their songs in their praise; that their offerings to the Rock will please the Earth and the Buffalo, and They will give industrious women who will bear many children; that the Great Spirit will direct their arrows, and harden their shields, and put breath in their horses when they are old; that the Buffalo will provide them with robes and moccasins, and a place of honor in their tipis and that their spirits shall not wander over the world.

An explanation of the allusive portions of these addresses is that before going on a foray each Lakota should compose a song which will be known as his song. If he does a notable thing, then the women will sing his song as a meed of praise for him; that before going on such a foray each one should make an offering to the Rock, the patron God of success in war, and this will propitiate the Earth, the patron God of fertility, and the Buffalo, the patron God of nuptials and fecundity; that the Great Spirit is the God that gives movement to anything that moves, and controls the direction of a movement, and He also gives vitality to everything that breathes. The Buffalo is also the patron God of the chase and of providing. The doctrine is, that the spirit of a man that is adjudged unworthy to go to the spirit world, is condemned to wander forever over the world.

During all these rites the people were quiet and attentive. When the *Mihunkayapi* ceased speaking there was an intermission of about half an hour, during which some of the women began preparation for the feast.

## WAVING THE WANDS.

The Conductor reëntered the lodge and sitting at the *catku* sang this song: —

“Kindred sacred are coming,  
They come toward me.

Kindred sacred are coming,  
They come from the west.”

An interpretation of this song is that the influences of the relationship of *Hunkaya* were coming to the Shaman from the west. The doctrine is that quite all that are sacred come from the west. As he sang, most of the people resumed the places they had occupied during the preceding rites and then the Conductor filled and lighted the ceremonial pipe as before and the Assistant made incense of sweetgrass. When he had smoked and emptied the pipe the Conductor said, “The smoke of the pipe goes to our sacred brothers and they will carry it to the Buffalo God who will be pleased with the odor of the sweetgrass.” The sacred brothers here spoken of are the Four Brothers, the Four Winds, who are the messengers of the Gods.

The Conductor then bade the bearers of the wands to stand and wave them over the younger man and as they did so he said, “These horse-tails are sacred. Our grandfathers made them. The influence of the Sun is in the eagle quills and of the Great Spirit is in the horsehair attached to them. When one is made *Hunka* these tails are waved over him. Their influence will do him good. It will cause him to remember his *Hunka* and the *Hunkayapi*. It will shield him from the Winged God so that he will not be made a *Heyoka*. The South Wind gave the horse-tails and He is pleased this day. I will wave the horse-tails over you.” This address is in accordance with the doctrine that the *Hunka* ceremony is of ancient origin and has the approval of the Chief of the Gods and the Great Spirit so that They influence the relationship of *Hunkaya* and will shield a *Hunka* seeing the person of the Winged God and prevent his becoming a *heyoka* and forever after speak and act in an anti-natural manner: that the South Wind, Who is the prevailing God of good weather, shows His pleasure by granting a bright and pleasant day.

The Conductor then filled and lighted the ceremonial pipe as before, and standing between the fireplace and the altar, facing westward, he extended the mouthpiece toward the west, then holding it horizontally, he moved it in a circle until it was extended toward the north, where he paused for a moment; and in the same manner he moved the mouthpiece and extended

it towards the east, the south, and the west again. He then bowed low and held the pipe with its mouthpiece extended toward the sun and said, "Grandfather, we have offered the spirit of the smoke to Your messengers and to the West Wind by whose tipi You will go. They will tell You that we will bring You a younger son this day." This address alludes to the doctrine that the West Wind has His tipi on the top of the high mountain at the edge of the world where the Sun passes when His daily journey is done.

The Conductor then took the wands and waved them over the young man. As he did so, he sang a song and the drummer sounded the drum in unison with the singing. Some of the people joined in singing the song. The substance of the song was that the influences in the wands would pass to the younger man and make him *Hunka*. The Conductor then sat at the *catku* and addressed the younger man as follows: "My grandson, these *Mihunkayapi* are painted red to please the powerful one, the Sun. They have told you how *Hunkayapi* should live. If you will do as they have done, the women will sing your song in praise of you. The *Hunkayapi* will be as brothers to you. Your robe will be good and your moccasins new. You will know what offerings to make to the Rock when you see the red stripe on a stone. The Gods will give you eagle quills. The Buffalo will cause your women to be industrious and to bear many children. The Gods will protect you in war. They will keep your women and children from the enemy. If you listen to the Buffalo He will aid you in the chase so that you will have plenty of meat and robes and so that the wolf will be afraid of you. I sought a vision and the Bear God spoke to me. This is what I saw: — A blue horse and eagle quills; women singing in a circle; the council lodge; a large robe with a buffalo cow painted on it. This is what the Bear said to me: — 'The young man should have the horse-tails waved over him; he will provide for his women and children; he will be brave and truthful and the people will listen to him; he will have plenty and give freely; he shall never cut the nose of his woman. My grandson, I have prepared a fetish. I will give it to you. If you will be controlled by its potency, it will be thus with you. This fetish has the potency of the Bear. He told me how to make it. Then I asked the Bear what he would tell me. Standing like a man He said, '*Iya* and *Iktomi* are traveling.' I will explain this to you. If you are lazy or a coward you will sleep with the coyotes. You should not cut your woman's nose. No woman will gash her flesh for you. The buffalo will laugh at you. If you tell lies *Iktomi* will trick you. *Anog Ite* will show you both her faces. Your women will suffer and your babes will have pains in their bowels. But if you listen to the Shamans the South Wind will stay with you. If you laugh at the Shamans, *Wazi* will stay with you. I will now wave the horse-tails over you."

He waved the wands over the younger man and then over each one in the lodge. Then he took the rattles, one in each hand, and said, "These rattles are sacred. The color of the Sun is on them. The color of the Earth is on them. The influence of the Gods is in them. Their rattle calls the spirits. The plume makes them potent." He then sang a song without words, shaking the rattles in unison with the music. The drum was sounded in unison with the rattles and some of the people joined in singing. The Conductor shook the rattles, first over the younger man and then over each one in the lodge. He then sat at the *catku* and said, "The spirit of the buffalo is *Hunka* to all who are of the *Hunka* ceremony. It should now be pleased."

As are most formal speeches by the older Oglala, this address is largely figurative, so that to comprehend it one must understand something of the doctrines of the Lakota and be somewhat acquainted with their figures of speech. These doctrines hold that the color red is a symbol of both the chief of the Gods and of all things sacred and that it has in itself a potency which, when it is formally applied to anything, dedicates it to some good purpose. Applied to a person as a rite of a ceremony it devotes the person to the objects of the ceremony; applied to things connected with a ceremony it consecrates them to the ceremony. Thus, the *Mihunkayapi* whose bodies were painted red were devoted to the *Hunkaya* and their council could be relied upon. Red paint on a stone consecrates it and makes of it an altar on which may be placed offerings to the God, the Rock, which one should make when about to undertake some dangerous deed. The expression, "The Gods will give you eagle quills," alludes to the custom that if one is about to undertake some daring exploit he should provide himself with eagle quills, so that if he is successful in his undertaking, and it is such as will entitle him to wear eagle quills, he will possess them; the only way of honorably possessing eagle quills for this purpose is to pluck them from a living eagle. To do this required the aid of the Gods. These doctrines hold that Shamans are vicars of the Gods and can communicate with Them relative to any matter; that they can interpret communications from the Gods, which usually are in mystic form, and that their interpretation is authoritative.

The expression, "A blue horse and eagle quills" means a war horse with a decoration of eagle quills and it implies that if the one addressed goes to war he will have the success that will entitle him to wear eagle quills as an insignum. "Women singing in a circle" alludes to the custom of the women who stand in a circle when they sing a man's song in his praise, and implies that they will do so for the one addressed. The expression, "The council lodge" implies that the one addressed will be so honored that he will be a councilor for his band. The expression, "A large robe with a

buffalo cow painted on it" alluded to a custom of the women that when one had made an unusually large or fine robe she would seek a vision and then paint on the robe a device or figure to represent the communication she received in the vision, thereby imparting to the robe a potency agreeing with the vision. If the robe were given to another, and the secret of the communication told to the one receiving it, the potency remained operative in the robe. The figure of a buffalo cow thus painted on a robe indicates that the wearer, or the wearer's women will have offspring.

The implication is that the one addressed will be abundantly provided with clothing and his woman will bear children. The purport of the address is that the Bear God first showed to the Shaman that which indicated an honorable future and then told what must be done to attain this future, the last of which is, "He shall never cut the nose of his woman." This alludes to the Lakota custom which permitted a man to cut off the tip of the nose of his woman if she was unfaithful to him. The expression, "*Iya* and *Iktomi* are traveling" means that *Iya* the great God of evil, and *Iktomi*, the imp of mischief are continually going about seeking to incite mankind to deeds of evil or of shame. The term, "You will sleep with the coyotes" means you will be so impoverished that you will have no shelter to sleep in. "You should not cut your woman's nose" means that if you are in such a shameful condition you are not justified in shaming your woman. "No woman will gash her flesh for you" alludes to the custom of the woman who, when mourning for their dead, gashed their flesh so as to cause the blood to flow as a token of the sincerity of their mourning; hence, it means that if one is lazy and a coward, no woman will mourn for him when he dies. "The buffalo will laugh at you" means that a lazy one will have no success in hunting or the chase and will want for food. "*Iktomi* will trick you" and "*Anog Ite* will show you both her faces" mean that misfortune, shame, and despair will come upon the lazy one. "If you laugh at the Shamans, *Wazi* will stay with you" means that if one does not give due and proper respect to the Shamans that one will be accursed by the Gods.

#### rites of the Buffalo Skull.

When the Conductor had thus addressed the younger man he filled and lighted the ceremonial pipe as before, blew smoke from it into the nostril cavities of the buffalo skull on the altar, and then gave the pipe to the younger man, saying, "Smoke with the spirit of the buffalo, for you are now as its brother. He will help you that you may have plenty of meat and hides."

As the younger man smoked the pipe, the Conductor removed the skull from the stone that supported it, placed a splotch of red paint on the stone, and then said, "We will smoke with the Rock." He took the pipe and blew smoke from it against the stone. He then gave the pipe to the younger man who also blew smoke on the stone. While he was doing so the Conductor said, "You have smoked with the Rock and He will make you strong so that you will not quickly grow weary." The Shaman then took the pipe and said, "We will smoke with our Grandmother." He then blew smoke from the pipe upon the altar and gave the pipe to the younger man who did likewise. The Conductor said, "We have smoked with the Earth and She will provide us with all things."

#### rites of the ear of corn.

He then emptied the pipe, putting the residuum on the fire, took the ear of corn, and thrust the rod to which it was attached, into the altar so that the rod stood upright. He said, "Our Grandmother gave us this corn. She sent it to the Lakota by the Buffalo woman. The South Wind came with her. The plume is the Buffalo. These embrace the Earth and her children are many. These things the Shaman can explain to you." He then sang this song:—

"Hunka, Hunka, Húnka in the west.  
The voice of Hunka, hear it."

An interpretation of this song is: the patron God of the ceremony in the west, the Buffalo, approves the performance of this ceremony, the younger man must heed that which is told to him and that the ceremony is to be continued.

#### PAINTING AND EXCHANGING CLOTHING.

The Conductor then removed the ear of corn from the altar, giving it to the one who had charge of it and replaced the buffalo skull on the altar. He then took red paint from his pouch and said, "This paint is sacred for I prepared it ceremonially. Its potency is benevolent." He then gave the paint to the Recorder and told him to paint the skull. The Recorder painted a red stripe on the skull, from the right eye socket to the nasal cavity and then painted red the upper part of the stone that supported the skull. The Conductor then gave him black paint with which he painted a black stripe parallel to and behind the red stripe on the skull. The Con-

ductor explained that the red stripe signified that the spirit of the buffalo was *Hunka* to all *Hunkayapi* and the black stripe signified that the spirit of the buffalo was an authority among the *Hunkayapi*.

The Assistant made incense with sweetgrass and the Conductor took the lean meat from the scaffold and cutting it into bits gave it to the younger man, telling him to give it to the people, but to keep a bit for himself. He did so, and the Conductor did the same with the fat meat. When the younger man was seated after distributing the meat the Conductor bade all to eat. When the younger man had the meat in his mouth the Conductor said, "I am hungry. Give me some meat." The younger man said, "I have no meat." The Conductor said, "You have meat in your mouth. You should take it from your mouth and divide it with me." The younger man did so. Then the Conductor said, "My moccasins are old and my feet are sore." After a pause, as if waiting, he said to the young man, "You should give me your moccasins." The younger man did so. Then the Conductor said, "My body is naked and I am cold." The younger man took off his shirt and gave it to the Conductor who said, "My leggings are old and ragged." The younger man took off his leggings and gave them to the Conductor.

The Conductor then said, "My friends, this man has done as a *Hunka* should do. He has given of all that he had. He took the food from his mouth and divided it with me. He gave me his moccasins, his shirt, and his leggings, and now he is naked and has nothing. I will put the red stripe on his face for he is *Hunka*. I put this stripe on his face so that the people may see it and know that he has given all his possessions away, and know that they should give to him. I will put the stripe on his face and on the face of his *Hunka* so that they will remember this day, and when they see one in want they will give to that one."

#### THE SECRET CEREMONY.

He then directed that the older man who was to be the *Hunka* of the younger sit beside the younger. He did so and the Assistant and Recorder held a robe so that it hid the older and younger man from view. The Conductor took two small globular packages wrapped in deerskin, colored red, and with them in hand went under the cover. While there, he murmured something. The interpreter said that the packages were talismans and that the Conductor was giving one to each of the *Hunka* and telling the secrets of their potency.

When the Conductor went under the cover the drummer sounded the

drum and began singing in which the people joined. When this song was sung they sang another. When they ceased singing, the Assistant and Recorder removed the covering and the Conductor went and sat at the *catku*. When the two *Hunka* were exposed they were bound together with thongs, arm to arm, side to side, and leg to leg, and each had a stripe of red paint across his right cheek from forehead to chin, the older man having an additional red stripe parallel to the other, to indicate that the *Hunka* ceremony had been performed for him on a previous occasion.

The Conductor then said to the younger man, "You are bound to your *Hunka*, and he is as yourself. When you put the red stripe on your face remember this. What you have is his. What he has he will give you if you wish it. You must help him in time of need. If one harms him you should take revenge, for it is as if you had been harmed. If you have horses, or captive women, or robes, or meat, they are his as they are yours. His children will be as your children and your children will be as his. If he is killed in war you should not be satisfied until you have provided a companion for his spirit. If he takes the sweatbath or seeks a vision, you should aid him and help to pay the Shaman. If he is sick, you should make presents to the Shamans and to the medicinemen. The *Hunkayapi* are your people. If you are a true *Hunka*, they will not let you be in want. You should heed the words of your *Hunka Ate*. You should be as his son."

The Conductor arose and standing, said, "My friends, this young man is now *Hunka*."

This concluded the ceremony. The people first went from the lodge, then the two newly-made *Hunka*, bound together as they were, went to the preparation tipi and there clothed themselves in the ordinary manner. The Conductor remained alone in the lodge and through the door he was observed to wrap the implements used during the ceremony into a bundle; then he turned the buffalo skull with the horns down and pressed them into the ground; then carefully set the stone into the ground so that the painted portion was uppermost; then he destroyed the altar, extinguished the fire, and came from the lodge.

Soon the women took down the lodge, but left the skull and stone as the Conductor had placed them. These things were done because the people believed that when a tipi had been used as a ceremonial lodge, it should be used for no other purpose until after it has been taken down and set up again.

After the ceremony, there was a "give-away" of presents, with much enthusiasm, so that probably the new *Hunka* and his friends were recompensed for all they had given in preparation for the occasion. This was followed by a feast that continued far into the night.

The author was present at another performance of the ceremony when a man adopted a boy about twelve years of age. At this time no one other than the man and the boy took part in the ceremony. It was performed in a tipi erected for that purpose, in which were the altar, the buffalo skull, and the implements for the ceremony, but no stone. All told, there were eleven persons present. The man's hands were painted red and he performed the ceremony in a much abridged manner, himself doing all the rites, except that he did not hide the boy under cover, nor give him a talisman, nor bind him with thongs. The presents given were few, and the feast, small. In this case the man became *Hunka Ate* and the boy *Hunka*.

Short-bull, a Brulé chief of prominence among the Oglala, at one time waved a horse-tail over the author and placed a stripe of red paint on the author's forehead, and, with no further ceremony, declared the author his *Hunka*, and ever afterwards addressed him as such.

## THE BUFFALO CEREMONY.

According to the former doctrine and practices of the Oglala, the influences that surround a young woman during her first menstrual flow will control her after life either for good or for evil, according to the preponderance of good or evil influences at this time. The Buffalo ceremony secures for the beneficiary the special care of the Buffalo God, the patron god of chastity, fecundity, industry, and hospitality, the virtues most to be desired of a woman. Therefore, it was given for a young woman soon after her first menstrual flow in order to aid the good influences that surrounded her at that time and to announce that she had arrived at woman's estate. One for whom this ceremony was performed was called a buffalo woman and had certain prestige in ceremonial and social affairs. One made a buffalo woman by this ceremony was a very different person from a Buffalo Woman, one of the mythical people who dwell in the regions under the world.

The Buffalo ceremony is now almost obsolete among the Oglala, but certain rites relative to it are occasionally practised. It was a festal occasion similar in most details to the *Hunka* ceremony and differing from it in that a formal camp circle was not made and in the rites performed by the conductor. The father of the young woman, or, if he could not act, her nearest kinsman, supervised the preparation for the occasion and chose the one to conduct the ceremony. If he was entitled to paint his hands red he could act as Conductor; but it was preferable to have a Shaman, for the prestige of the young woman was in proportion to the notability of the ceremony and feasts. It might be either a very simple or a very elaborate occasion, depending on the ability and inclination of those having it done. The essentials of the ceremony are to invoke the spirit of the buffalo and through it secure the influence of the Buffalo God for the young woman; to impress her with the importance of resisting lasciviousness and practising hospitality. The occasion should also inculcate the virtue of liberality. The author observed the performance of this ceremony on several occasions and was permitted to be present with an interpreter and take notes at one of the more elaborate performances. The following is a description of the ceremony as it was given at that time, with explanations of some of the rites as made by the interpreter.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> In 1902 the Editor was present at a ceremony performed by a different Shaman in which there were two girls. The essential equipment for the ceremony was secured for the

The young woman had her first menstrual flow on the fourth day of June and the ceremony was performed on the fourteenth day of the same month. Ample provision had been made for the feast and invitation wands sent to many people. The day before the ceremony many guests arrived and were camped in an irregular manner near by and others continued to come until nightfall. All were in a jovial mood, and there was visiting, games, singing, and dancing until late at night. The young woman abided alone in a large new tipi. The following paraphernalia had been provided for the ceremony:—

A buffalo skull with the horns attached.

A new wooden bowl.

A fire carrier.

A drum.

Two rattles.

A supply of dried chokecherries.

A supply of dried meat.

A supply of sweetgrass.

A supply of dried cottonwood.

A clout and new dress for the young woman.

An eagle plume with the quill wrapped with skin from the head of a mallard drake having the green feathers on it.

At dawn the next morning the people were astir and as the eastern sky grew red the shaman who was to conduct the ceremony came from his tipi and facing toward the east sang this song:—

“A voice, *Anpeo*, hear it.  
Speaks low, hear it.”

According to the interpreter, *Anpeo* is the red aurora, the forerunner of the sun, a God who should be invoked by song to secure a pleasant day and this song was such an invocation.

Immediately, the people busied themselves with preparation for the occasion. Before the sun was up, the mother and some other women took

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Museum. In the main, the procedure was the same as stated here, but a few points of difference deserve notice. When the altar square was prepared the Shaman painted a number of red lines upon it, parallel to the north and south sides. He took up paint in his fingers and sifted it very skillfully, making a line by one movement of the hand. As he did so, he pronounced a formula, which he said signified that these were the paths of life for women. No women occupied the tipi, it being filled by men among whom the writer and his interpreter were given seats. At one point in the ceremony, the Shaman cast burrs out of the tipi, stating that thus might trouble fall these women, particularly those caused by jealousy and envy. Before the rites with the bowl and the rutting dance, the Shaman filled two handsome pipes and gave one to each girl. They left the tipi and each selected an elderly man to smoke for them. Upon their return the rutting dance and the procedure with the bowl occurred as given above. However, the girls did not remove any of their clothing and immediately upon their final withdrawal a feast of dog was brought in and served. The “canes” given the girls were painted red and tipped with buffalo wool.

down the tipi the young woman had occupied, but immediately set it up again. This was done because the tipi was to be used as a ceremonial lodge and no ceremony will be efficacious if a woman is present during her menstrual flow or if the influences that surround her at that time are present. Such influences remain about a tipi that a woman has occupied during her period until it is taken down and again set up. Therefore, this tipi was taken down and the evil influences were thus driven from it and it was fit to be immediately set up and used for the ceremony.

When the mother began to take down the tipi the young woman took the bundle in which she had wrapped her menstrual discharge and went out alone and placed it in a plum tree. This was done as an offering to the Buffalo God which should be placed in a plum tree because it is the emblem of fruitfulness and hospitality preferred by the Buffalo God; also, if any person or thing should obtain possession of any portion of a woman's first menstrual discharge such a person or thing would thereby have an influence over the woman that might be exercised to cause her to do foolish or shameful things. The bundle should be so placed in a plum tree that the coyotes cannot get it, for they are often the emissaries of *Iktomi* and try to get such bundles for him so that he may have the power to make women ridiculous. Such bundles have a potency of their own and if disturbed may cause eruptive diseases of the skin and falling of the hair, in witness of which see young men with pimply faces and many coyotes without hair. Having deposited her bundle, the young woman returned to her father's cabin and remained there until she came from it for her part in the ceremony. The women set up the tipi with its door toward the east and the father of the young woman levelled the *catku* and made an altar between it and the fireplace. He then placed the buffalo skull on the altar and spread sagebrush around it and over the *catku*. Women built a fire of the cottonwood north of, but near the tipi, and this fire was kept replenished until the close of the ceremony. Cottonwood was used for this fire because this wood is repugnant to *Anog Ite*, the double or two-faced woman who incites to bickerings and licentiousness; the fire was built on the north side to ward against the approach of *Wazi*, the wizard, who might make the ceremony of no effect. While making the fire, the mother sang this song:—

“The spirit of the dry wood.  
Those coming are pleased.

The spirit of the dry wood.  
*Wazi* is going away.”

The interpreter gave this as the meaning of this song:— A spirit fire made of dry cottonwood pleases the Gods. The spirit fire so made will

drive away the wizard, *Wazi*. This song was an invocation to have these things accomplished.

As the sky grew red before the rising sun, the Shaman stood facing east and said, "*Anpeo*, I am your friend. I have prepared the red paint you like best. I have mixed it with marrow fat. Tell this to *Wi* that He may be pleased. Give your potency to this paint." When the sun was rising he said, "Grandfather, look with favor on us. Command the Gods to do as we ask of Them. We will do nothing to displease You this day. Tell the West Wind that I am His friend so that He may keep the Winged God from the sky."

Then the father placed in the lodge a pipe and smoking material, the wooden bowl, chokecherries, sweetgrass and sage, the eagle plume, and the fire carrier. He then announced to the Shaman that the lodge was ready for the ceremony. The Shaman went into his tipi and donned his regalia. This was a headdress consisting of a cap made of buffalo skin with the long shaggy hair on it and a small buffalo horn attached to each side so that it would stand out from the head as buffalo horns do; from each side hung a pendant made of white weaselskins and hawk quills. From the rear hung a strip of buffalo skin with the hair on and a buffalo tail attached to it so as to come below his knees when standing. This was the formal regalia of a buffalo medicineman. His only clothing was a breech-clout, leggings, and moccasins. His hands, body, and face were painted red, symbolizing his sacred powers as a Shaman; there were three perpendicular black stripes painted on his right cheek, this being the sign of his authority on this occasion. When he came from his tipi he held in his right hand his Fetish and two small wands, each having a small globular package wrapped in soft tanned deerskin attached near the smaller end; in his left hand he carried his ceremonial pipe and a staff made of chokecherry wood. He faced the sun and sang this song: —

"The Sun is going.  
The Sun is going.  
Traveling they go.

My kinsman is going.  
My kinsman is going.  
I do this thing."

The interpretation of this song was that the Sun on His daily journey dispersed the evil beings that lurk about at night and that on this journey He confirmed the mystic power of the Shaman to do his mystic work. As he chanted the song, the people gathered about and stood in respectful attitude and then he harangued them, lauding the young woman and her father,

and his own proficiency as a Shaman. He then announced that the ceremony would soon begin.

The people immediately assembled in and about the lodge. The father sat at the left of the *catku* with the men at his left against the wall of the lodge to the door. The mother sat at the left of the door and the women sat at her left against the wall of the lodge to the *catku*. Those who could not seat themselves thus in the lodge sat in a circle in front of the lodge door, the men together on the north side, the women on the south.

When the people had arranged themselves the Shaman walked with slow strides to the fire at the north side of the lodge and after inspecting it sprinkled sweetgrass on it. This he did to add the potency of sweetgrass to that of the cottonwood fire in order to still further please the Gods.

He then entered the lodge and passed slowly around on the south side, deliberately scanning each woman to discover if any were present during the menstrual flow. If he had found one such he would have ordered her to retire from the lodge. He returned to the door as he came from it, so as not to pass between the altar and the *catku*, for it is a sacrilege to pass between an altar and the *catku* of the lodge. He then carefully scanned the men on the north side and if he had found one unworthy he would have ordered him to retire from the lodge. He then sat at the *catku* and gave the fire carrier to the father, who brought burning coals from the cottonwood fire and placed them at the north side of the altar, making the spirit fire there.

While he was doing this, the Shaman arranged the sagebrush around the *catku* and altar, meanwhile intoning something in a low voice. It was explained that he did this to ward off evil beings and influences. He then filled his pipe in the ceremonial manner and lighted it with a coal from the spirit fire. He blew smoke from the pipe into the nostril cavities of the buffalo skull and then passed the pipe to the father, who smoked and passed it. The pipe was passed until all in the lodge had smoked in communion. While the people were smoking, the Shaman painted the right side of the forehead of the buffalo skull red and then painted a red stripe from the occiput to the middle of the forehead. This is the symbol of the Buffalo ceremony. He then placed the skull on the altar with its nostril cavities towards the fireplace and then on each side of it thrust upright into the latter, one of the small wands he had brought into the lodge. Then he made incense by sprinkling sweetgrass on the spirit fire and in a formal manner filled his ceremonial pipe and lighted it with a coal from the spirit fire. He then invoked the God, the Four Winds, by pointing the mouth-piece of the pipe first toward the west, and carrying it horizontally in a circle, pausing a moment at the north, east, and south. This was done

because in any ceremony pertaining to the Gods, after the smoke in communion and the incense of sweetgrass, the Four Winds have precedence before all other Gods and they should be so recognized in order to propitiate them.

The Shaman then said, "My friends, we have smoked with the spirit of the buffalo, and the influence of the Buffalo God will be in this lodge." He then sang this song: —

"Buffalo bull in the west lowing.  
Buffalo bull in the west lowing.  
Lowing he speaks."

The explanation of this song was: The Lakota designate the rutting time of the buffalo by the term, "The buffalo bull is lowing in the west" and that the ceremony represents the buffalo during the rutting time. The Shaman then laid a bit of cloth on the skull and said, "My oldest sister, I make an offering of this robe to you."

He then directed that the young woman be brought into the lodge. Her mother led her in and seated her between the altar and the fireplace. She sat with her legs crossed, as children and men sit. The Conductor, the Shaman, then sprinkled sage on the spirit fire and said, "*Iya*, go away from this place so that this may not be a lazy woman." Sprinkling more sage on the fire he said, "*Iktomi*, go away from this place so that this young woman may not do foolish things." Again sprinkling sage on the fire he said, "*Anog Ite* go away from this place so that this young woman may not do shameful things." The fourth time he sprinkled sage on the fire and said, "*Hohnogica* go away from this place so that this young woman may not be troubled when she is a mother." He then made incense with sweetgrass on the spirit fire and said, "Bull buffalo I have painted your woman's forehead red and have given her a red robe. Her potency is in her horns. Command her to give her influence to this young woman so that she may be a true buffalo woman and bear many children." He then said to the young woman, "You have abided alone for the first time. The influence of the lower Gods has possessed you. You are now a woman and should be ashamed to sit as a child. You should sit as a woman sits." The young woman's mother then came and arranged the young woman so that she sat with her feet and limbs together, sidewise, as women sit.

The Conductor then said to her, "You should always sit as women sit. If you sit as men sit, your mother will be ashamed of you. Young men will say that a coyote has taken your bundle." The explanation given of this address is: if an Oglala woman sits with her legs crossed as men sit, this indicates that she is a lewd woman; and if it is said of a woman that a coyote has taken her bundle, it is equivalent to saying that she is considered

a lewd woman. The Conductor then arose and walked slowly four times around the young woman, scanning her closely. Then he sat at the *catku* and said, "I sought a vision and saw the messenger of the white buffalo cow. I sang this song:—

The messenger of the buffalo in the west.  
The messenger of the buffalo in the west.  
I will give you a robe."

"Then the messenger said: 'A spider; a turtle; the voice of a lark; a brave man; children; a tipi smoking.' I have spoken with the Gods and I will tell you what these things mean. The spider is an industrious woman. She builds a tipi for her children. She gives them plenty of food. The turtle is a wise woman. She hears many things and says nothing. Her skin is a shield. An arrow cannot wound her. The lark is a cheerful woman. She brings pleasant weather. She does not scold. She is always happy. If a brave man takes you for his woman you may sing his scalp song and you may dance his scalp dance. He will kill plenty of game. You will have plenty of meat and skins. You will bear him many children and you will be happy. There will always be a fire in your tipi and you will have food for your people. If you are industrious like the spider; if you are wise like the turtle; if you are cheerful like the lark, then you will be chosen by a brave man, and you will have plenty and never be ashamed. These things I saw in the vision: A coyote; worn moccasins; and I heard a voice in mourning. The Buffalo God sends this message to you. If you listen to *Iktomi*, or to *Iya*, or to *Anog Ite*, then you will be lazy and lewd and poor and miserable. A brave man or a good hunter will not give a dog for you. Your robe will be old and ragged. Your moccasins will be worn and without color on them. The buffalo horns are on my head and I speak for the Buffalo God. The buffalo tail is behind me and this makes my word sacred. I am now the buffalo bull and you are a young buffalo cow. I will show you what the bad influences would have you do. I will show you what the good influence would have you do."

He then formally filled his ceremonial pipe and lighted it with a coal from the spirit fire. While he smoked it the people sang a wordless song in unison with the sounding of the drum and rattles. Then the conductor formally emptied the residuum from the pipe on the spirit fire and sang this song:—

"A man from the north, gave me a cane.  
I told this young woman.

She will live to be old.  
Her tribe will live."

The given explanation of this song is: The man from the north is *Wazi*, the wizard, who appears as a very old man. So when the Oglala say of a man that he is a man from the north, they mean that he is a very old man who needs help. To give a cane to an old person indicates a willingness to give such aid as may be needed. The expression, "I told this young woman" means that the Shaman has formally stated to her the rules that should govern her conduct in life. The second stanza implies that if she will observe the rules that have been explained to her, she and her offspring will live long.

Then the drum and rattles were sounded and the people began to sing a wordless song in unison with the beating of the drum. The conductor went to the door and stood a moment facing out, then he turned and began to dance toward the girl, stepping in time with the drum, and repeatedly uttering a guttural cry something like "Uh-hu-hu-ah." He danced up to and beside the young woman and back to the door. Then he danced up to the other side of the young woman in the same manner. He repeated this at each side of the young woman, the music and his step becoming more vigorous, so that at the last he was dancing in a frantic manner. Then he went outside the door and getting on his hands and knees, bellowed and pawed the ground as a bull does, then lifted his head and sniffed in different directions as if trying to locate something by scent. Then he came on his hands and knees into the lodge, lowing as he came. In this manner, he sidled against the young woman, when her mother placed a wisp of sagebrush under her arm and threw some sage in her lap. The Conductor then sidled against the other side of the young woman and the mother placed sage in a like manner under her arm on that side and threw more sage in her lap.

Then the Conductor sat at the *catku* and said to the young woman, "That is the manner in which the Crazy Buffalo will approach you to tempt you to do things that will make you ashamed and will make your people ashamed of you. Your mother showed you in what manner you can drive away the evil things that would harm you. She will teach you how to do this. If you remember this a man will pay the price for you and you will be proud of your children. According to the interpreter, the price of a woman was the equivalent of six good buffalo robes and it was an honorable and desirable distinction for a young woman if, when a man chose her he would give this price for her. She could afterwards proudly make the boast that her man had paid the price for her.

The Conductor then took the wooden bowl and putting into it chokecherries and water, mingled them, intoning a song in a low voice as he did so. He placed the bowl on the ground and said to the young woman, "We

are buffalo on the plains and this is a water-hole. The water in it is red for it is sacred and made so by the Buffalo God and it is for buffalo women. Drink from it." The young woman stooped and drank from the bowl in the manner that the buffalo drink. Then the Conductor went on his hands and knees and drank from the bowl in the same manner. Then he took the bowl in his hands and said, "My friends, this young woman gives you this red water so that you may drink of it and be her friends. Let all who are her friends drink of it." He then passed the bowl and it was passed from one to another until all had sipped from it.

Then the Conductor directed the young woman to stand and take off her dress, which she did, handing the dress to him. He spread the dress over the buffalo skull saying as he did so, "This young woman gives her dress to the buffalo women. One who needs it, may take it." After a pause, a woman from outside the lodge came and took the dress. Then the Conductor gave the young woman a bit of sage and told her to eat it; as she chewed it, he said to her, "Sage is bitter, but your mother has shown you how to use it." He then gave her a bit of sweetgrass, and bade her eat it. While she was chewing it he said, "Sweetgrass is good. It pleases the Gods. You should remember these things." He then took the wands from beside the buffalo skull and handing them to her said, "These are your Buffalo charms. You should keep them for they will keep bad influences away from you. They have the potency of the Buffalo God and of the spirit of the buffalo. They will keep the two-faced woman, *Anog Ite*, from you. They will bring you many children." He then directed the mother to arrange the young woman's hair, which she did, parting it carefully in the middle, and braiding it into two strands which she brought over her shoulders so that they would hang in front as women wear their hair, instead of behind, as a girl's hair is worn.

Then the Conductor painted red the right side of the young woman's forehead and a red stripe at the parting of her hair, and while doing so he said, "You see your oldest sister on the altar. Her forehead is painted red. This is to show that she is sacred. Red is a sacred color. Your first menstrual flow was red. Then you were sacred. You have taken of the red water this day. This is to show that you are akin to the Buffalo God and are His woman. The Buffalo God is pleased with an industrious woman. He is pleased with those who give food to the hungry. He will cause a brave man to desire her, so that he will pay the price for her. She may choose the man she desires. If he has other wives she will sit next to the *catku*. They will carry wood while she mends moccasins. You are now a buffalo woman. You are entitled to paint your face in this manner."

He then tied the eagle plume at the crown of her head and said, "The

spirit of the eagle and the duck will be with you. They will give you the influence of the Sun and the South Wind. They will give you many children." He then handed her a staff of cherry wood and said, "This staff is of the sacred cherry wood. It will aid you in finding plums and chokecherries, so that you may make plenty of pemmican." He then directed the mother to remove the clout from the young woman, which she did, handing it to the Conductor, who handed it to the father, and said, "You are now a woman. The buffalo woman is your oldest sister. Go out of this lodge." He then began to intone a song without words and the young woman arose and looked confusedly about, then went from the lodge. After she had passed from the door, all the inmates of the lodge, except the Conductor, arose and went from the lodge. All assembled outside the lodge and went from it. Then the Conductor took the buffalo skull from the altar and turned it upside down, and destroyed the altar. He then took his paraphernalia and went to his tipi, removed his regalia, and then joined the people. The father harangued the people and gave a horse to the Conductor, and after this there was a general giving of presents, the presents being grouped on the ground, and the people standing in a circle about them. Each person who gave a present either harangued, or employed someone to harangue for him, calling the name of the one to receive the present, who came and took it. A number were haranguing at the same time and the people were shouting, singing, and joking, so that there was a jovial hubbub. After this there was a feast, the principal dish of which was dog meat. This feast continued until far into the night. The next forenoon the guests began their departure, but it was not considered good form for anyone to go immediately after the feast, so some lingered a day or two.

#### Songs for the Buffalo Ceremony.

##### Number 1.

A man coming from the north.  
Give me a cane.  
So I told this girl  
She will live to be old.  
And the whole tribe will live.

##### Number 2.

A man scratched himself beside a bank.  
He proved to be a buffalo.  
He said, "Young man take care for yourself.  
Young man try to be straight.  
It will be to your good."

## Number 3.

From the rising sun I heard many voices.  
And they were traveling west.  
Ahead came an old man with white hair and a cane.  
He said, "Good men be good.  
And you will live long.  
I will give a cane to the aged, and to this young woman."

## Number 4.

Where the sun goes down I saw many animals  
They said to me to prepare this place.  
So you will see it and live long.

The above is Antoin Herman's translation, but as the songs are in the ceremonial language of the Shamans, it is probable that a much better interpretation could be given. For instance, a better interpretation of the first line of the first song would be: "*Wazi* inspires this ceremony." In the language of the Shamans, "A man coming from the north" means the wizard, *Wazi*, who, according to their mythology, taught many ceremonies to the Lakota. All these songs are related to the Buffalo ceremony, and it requires a liberal interpretation of the concepts they express to comprehend them. In the original, the meter is adapted to the music of the Lakota.

## TRANSLATIONS OF TEXTS.

In the following will be found close renderings of texts and conversations upon important concepts referred to in the preceding discussions. The author has prepared for publication a number of texts with both literal and free translations which it is hoped may be printed in the near future. These all deal with ceremonies and mythical concepts.

## WAKAN.

(By Sword, Translated by Burt Means.)

*Wakan* means very many things. The Lakota understands what it means from the things that are considered *wakan*; yet sometimes its meaning must be explained to him. It is something that is hard to understand. Thus *wasica wakan*, means a white man medicineman; but a Lakota medicineman is called *pejuta wacasa*. *Wicasa wakan* is the term for a Lakota priest of the old religion. The white people call our *wicasa wakan*, medicineman, which is a mistake. Again, they say a *wicasa wakan* is making medicine when he is performing ceremonies. This is also a mistake. The Lakota call a thing a medicine only when it is used to cure the sick or the wounded, the proper term being *pejuta*. When a priest uses any object in performing a ceremony that object becomes endowed with a spirit, not exactly a spirit, but something like one, the priests call it *tonwan* or *ton*. Now anything that thus acquires *ton* is *wakan*, because it is the power of the spirit or quality that has been put into it. A *wicasa wakan* has the power of the *wakan* beings.

The roots of certain plants are *wakan* because they are poisonous. Likewise some reptiles are *wakan* because if they bite they would kill. Again, some birds are *wakan* because they do very strange things and some animals are *wakan* because the *wakan* beings make them so. In other words, anything may be *wakan* if a *wakan* spirit goes into it. Thus a crazy man is *wakan* because the bad spirit has gone into him.

Again, if a person does something that cannot be understood, that is also *wakan*. Drinks that make one drunk are *wakan* because they make one crazy.

Every object in the world has a spirit and that spirit is *wakan*. Thus the spirit of the tree or things of that kind, while not like the spirit of man, are also *wakan*.

*Wakan* comes from the *wakan* beings. These *wakan* beings are greater than mankind in the same way that mankind is greater than animals. They are never born and never die. They can do many things that mankind cannot do. Mankind can pray to the *wakan* beings for help. There are many of these beings but all are of four kinds. The word *Wakan Tanka* means all of the *wakan* beings because they are all as if one. *Wakan Tanka Kin* signifies the chief or leading *Wakan* being which is the Sun. However, the most powerful of the *Wakan* beings is *Nagi Tanka*, the Great Spirit who is also *Taku Skanskan*; *Taku Skanskan* signifies the Blue, in other words, the Sky.

*Iya* is a *Wakan Tanka*, but he is an evil *Wakan Tanka*. Mankind is permitted to pray to the *Wakan* beings. If their prayer is directed to all the good *Wakan* beings they should pray to *Wakan Tanka*; but if the prayer is offered only to one of these beings, then the one addressed should be named.

*Wakan Tanka* is pleased with music. He likes to hear the drums and the rattles. When any of the *Wakan* beings hear the drum and the rattles they always give attention. He is also fond of the smoke of sweetgrass and evil *Wakan* beings are afraid of the smoke of sage. All of the *Wakan* both the good and evil, are pleased with the smoke of the pipe.

The *Wicasa Wakan* or priests, speak for all the *Wakan* beings. *Wakan Tanka* gives them the power that makes them *Wakan* and by which they can put *ton* into anything. Each priest has an object for himself into which *ton* has been put. This is called a *Wasicun*. A *Wasicun* is one of the *Wakan* beings. It is the least of them, but if its *ton* is from a powerful being it may be more powerful than many of the *Wakan* beings. This *Wasicun* is what the priests do their work with, but the white people call it the medicine bag, which is a mistake, for there are no medicines in it. A medicine bag is a bag that doctors have their medicines in. If a man has a *Wasicun* he may pray to it, for it is the same as the *Wakan* being whose *ton* (*wan*) is in it.

The earth and the rock and the mountains pertain to the chief *Wakan*. We do not see the real earth and the rock, but only their *tonwanpi*.

When a Lakota prays to *Wakan Tanka* he prays to the earth and to the rock and all the other good *Wakan* beings. If a man wishes to do evil things he may pray to the evil *Wakan*.

#### WAKAN TANKA.

(By Sword.)

When *Wakan Tanka* wishes one of mankind to do something he makes his wishes known either in a vision or through a shaman. . . . The shaman addresses *Wakan Tanka* as *Tobto Kin*. This is part of the secret language of the shamans. . . . *Tobto Kin* are four times four gods while *Tob Kin* is only the four winds. The four winds is a god and is the *akicita* or messenger of all the other gods. The four times four are: *Wikan* and *Hanwikan*; *Taku Skanskan* and *Tatekan* and *Tob Kin* and *Yumnikan*; *Makakan* and *Wohpe*; *Inyankan* and *Wakinyan*; *Tatankakan*; *Hunonpakan*; *Wanagi*; *Waniya*; *Nagila*; and *Wasicunpi*. These are the names of the good Gods as they are known to the people.

*Wakan Tanka* is like sixteen different persons; but each person is *kan*. Therefore, they are all only the same as one. . . . All the God persons have *ton*. *Ton* is the power to do supernatural things. . . . Half of the good Gods are *ton ton* (have physical properties) and half are *ton ton sni* (have no physical properties). Half of those who are *ton ton* are *ton ton yan* (visible), and half of those who are *ton ton sni* are *ton ton yan sni* (Invisible). All the other Gods are visible or invisible as they choose to be. . . . All the evil Gods are visible or invisible as they choose to be. . . . The invisible Gods never appear in a vision except to a Shaman. . . . Except for the Sun dance, the ceremonies for the visible and the invisible Gods differ. The Sun dance is a ceremony the same as if *Wikan* were both visible and invisible. This is because *Wi* is the chief of the Gods. . . .

## CONCEPTION OF ENERGY.

(The following is a literal transcript of a conversation with Finger, a distinguished shaman, March 25, 1914.)

I heard you exclaim when a meteorite fell and heard you address the people immediately afterwards. Then I saw you burning sweetgrass. Will you tell me why you did this? You are a white man's medicineman and you want to know the mysteries of the Lakota. Why do you want to know these things?

The old Indians who know these things will soon be dead and gone and as the younger Indians do now know them they will be lost. I wish to write them so they will be preserved and your people can read them in years to come. Will you tell them to me? My father was a shaman and he taught me the mysteries of the shamans and I will tell them to you. What is it you want to know?

When the meteor fell you cried in a loud voice, "*Wohpa. Wohpe-e-e-e.*" Why did you do this? Because that is *wakan*.

What is *wohpa*? It is what you saw. It is one of the stars falling.

What causes the stars to fall? *Taku Skanskan*.

Why does *Taku Skanskan* cause the stars to fall? Because He causes everything that falls to fall and he causes everything to move that moves.

When you move what is it that causes you to move? *Skán*.

If an arrow is shot from a bow what causes it to move through the air. *Skán*.

What causes a stone to fall to the ground when I drop it? *Skán*.

If I lift a stone from the ground what causes the movement? *Skán*. He gives you power to lift the stone and it is He that causes all movement of any kind.

Has the bow anything to do with the movement of an arrow shot from it? *Taku Skanskan* gives the spirit to the bow and he causes it to send the arrow from it.

What causes smoke to go upward? *Taku Skanskan*.

What causes water to flow in a river? *Skán*.

What causes the clouds to move over the world? *Skán*.

Are *Taku Skán* and *Skán* one and the same? Yes. When the people speak to Him, they say *Taku Skanskan*. When a shaman speaks of Him, he says *Skán*. *Skán* belongs to the *wakan* speech used by the shamans.

Is *Skán*, *Wakan Tanka*? Yes.

Is he *Wakan Tanka Kin*? No. That is *Wi*, the Sun.

Are *Wi* and *Skán* one and the same? No. *Wi* is *Wakan Tanka Kin* and *Skán* is *Nagi Tanka*, the Great Spirit.

Are they both *Wakan Tanka*? Yes.

Are there any other *wakan* that are *Wakan Tanka*? Yes. *Inyan*, the Rock and *Maka*, the Earth.

Are there any others? Yes. *Wi Han*, the Moon; *Tate*, the wind; *Wakinyan*, the Winged; and *Wohpe*, the Beautiful Woman.

Are there any others that are *Wakan Tanka*? No.

Then there are eight *Wakan Tanka*, are there? No, there is but one.

You have named eight and say there is but one. How can this be? That is right. I have named eight. There are four, *Wi*, *Skán*, *Inyan*, and *Maka*. These are the *Wakan Tanka*.

You named four others, the Moon, the Wind, the Winged, and the Beautiful Woman and said they were *Wakan Tanka*, did you not? Yes. But these four are the same as the *Wakan Tanka*. The Sun and the Moon are the same, the *Skán* and the Wind are the same, the Rock and the Winged are the same, and the Earth and

the Beautiful Woman are the same. These eight are only one. The shamans know how this is, but the people do not know. It is *wakan* (a mystery).

Did the *Wakan Tanka* always exist? Yes, the Rock is the oldest. He is grandfather of all things.

Which is the next oldest? The earth. She is grandmother of all things.

Which is next oldest? *Skán*. He gives life and motion to all things.

Which is the next oldest after *Skán*? The Sun. But He is above all things and above all *Wakan Tanka*.

Lakota have told me that the Sun and *Taku Skanskan* are one and the same. Is that true? No. Many of the people believe that it is so, but the shamans know that it is not so. The Sun is in the sky only half the time and *Skán* is there all the time.

Lakota have told me the *Skán* is the sky. Is that so? Yes. *Skán* is a Spirit and all that mankind can see of Him is the blue of the sky. But He is everywhere.

Do you pray to *Wakan Tanka*? Yes, very often.

To which of the eight you have named do you pray? When I pray I smoke the pipe and burn sweetgrass and *Wohpe* carries my prayer to the *Wakan Tanka*. If the prayer is about things of great importance, it is carried to the Sun; if about my health or my strength it goes to *Skán*; if about my implements, to *Inyan*; if about food or clothing and such things, to the Earth.

Are such prayers ever carried to the Moon, or the Wind, or the Winged, or to *Wohpe*? They may be carried to the Moon and to the Wind; but this is the same as if to the Sun or *Skán*. Lakota do not pray to the Winged. They defy Him. They do not pray to *Wohpe*, for She carries all prayers. The Lakota may pray to any *Wakan*, but if to a *Wakan* that is below *Wakan Tanka*, such must be named in the prayer and it will be carried to the one named.

You say *wohpa* is a falling star. Is *Wohpe* in any way related to a falling star? She first came like a falling star.

Where did she come from. From the stars.

What are the stars? *Waniya*.

What are *waniya*? They are ghosts. *Skán* takes from the stars a ghost and gives it to each babe at the time of its birth and when the babe dies the ghost returns to the stars.

Is *Wohpe* a ghost? She is *Wakan Tanka*. A ghost is *Wakan*, but it is not *Wakan Tanka*.

Has a Lakota ever seen *Wohpe*? Yes. When She gave the pipe to the Lakota She was in their camp for many days.

How did she appear at that time? Like a very beautiful young woman. For this reason the people speak of Her as the Beautiful Woman. The people do not speak of Her as *Wohpe*. Only the shamans call her that.

Lakota have told me that Her *ton* is in the pipe and in the smoke of the sweetgrass. Is that true? It was a shaman who told you that. When the people say *ton* they mean something that comes from a living thing, such as the birth of anything or the discharge from a wound or a sore or the growth from a seed. Only shamans speak of the *ton* of the *Wakan*. Such *ton* is *wakan* and the shamans only know about it. The people are afraid to talk of such *ton* because it is *wakan*. The people smoke the pipe and burn sweetgrass because *Wohpe* will do no harm to anyone.

You say the Rock is the grandfather of all things and the Earth the grandmother of all things. Are the Rock and the Earth as a man and wife? Some Shamans think they are, and some think they are not.

Who were the father and mother of all things? The *Wakan* have no father or mother. Anything that has a birth will have a death. The *Wakan* were not born and they will not die.

Is anything about a Lakota *wakan*? Yes. The spirit, the ghost, and the *sicun*. Do these die? No. They are *wakan*.

What becomes of them when the body dies? The spirit goes to the spirit world, the ghost goes to where *Skan* got it, and the *sicun* returns to the *Wakan* it belongs to.

What is the *sicun*? It is the *ton* of a *Wakan*. *Skans* gives it at the time of the birth.

What are its functions? It remains with the body during life, to guard it from danger and help it in a *wakan* manner.

How does the spirit get to the spirit world? It goes on the spirit trail.

Where is the spirit trail? It can be seen in the sky at night. It is a white trail across the sky.

Is it made of stars? No. It is like the clouds, so that nothing but *wakan* can travel on it. No man knows where it begins or where it ends. The Wind alone knows where it begins. It moves about. Sometimes it is in one direction and sometimes in another.

How does the ghost go to the place where *Skan* got it? The ghost is like smoke and it goes upward until it arrives at the stars.

What becomes of the body when it dies? It rots and becomes nothing.

#### THE CONCEPT NI.

(By Sword.)

A man's *Ni* is his life. It is the same as his breath and that which gives him his strength. It is the *Ni* which keeps the inside of a man clean. If the *Ni* is weak, he cannot perform this office and if it goes away the man dies. *Niya* is the ghost or spirit which is given to a man at birth and is that which causes the *Ni*. The Lakota have a ceremony which they call *Ini kaga* or *Inipi*. The white people call it taking a sweat bath. The idea of the Lakota is that the *Inipi* makes man's spirit strong so that it may cleanse all within the body and so that the *Ni* may drive from his body all that makes him tired or that causes disease or that causes him to have evil thoughts. The ceremony must be performed in a *ini ti* or what the white people call a sweatlodge. The *ini ti* must be made according to Lakota custom; otherwise, the ceremony would be of no avail.

*Wourhanble* is the name for a supernatural communication. It is what the white people call a holy dream or vision. In former times, if a man wished to know the will of his god he sought a vision. The term for this is *ihanblapi*. To seek such a vision a Lakota must think about it all the time, but first strengthen his spirit by the *inikaga*.

#### INVOCATION BY A SHAMAN.

The invocation and its explanation were given in Lakota by Sword and interpreted by Thomas Mills.

Before a Shaman can perform a ceremony in which mysterious beings or things have a part, he should fill and light a pipe and say: —

"Friend of *Wakinyan*, I pass the pipe to you first. Circling I pass to you who dwell with the Father. Circling pass to beginning day. Circling pass to the beautiful one. Circling I complete the four quarters and the time. I pass the pipe to the Father with the Sky. I smoke with the Great Spirit. Let us have a blue day."

The pipe is used because the smoke from the pipe smoked in communion has the potency of the feminine god who mediates between godkind and mankind, and propitiates the godkind. When a Shaman offers the pipe to a god, the god smokes it and is propitiated. In this invocation, when the Shaman has filled and lighted the pipe he should point the mouthpiece toward the west and say, "Friend of *Wakinyan*, I pass the pipe to you first." Thus, he offers the pipe to the West Wind, for the West Wind dwells in the lodge of *Wakinyan* and is his friend. The pipe should be offered to the West Wind first, because the birthright of precedence of the oldest was taken from the first born, the North Wind, and given to the second born, the West Wind, and the gods are very jealous of the order of their precedence.

When he has made this offering the Shaman should move the pipe toward his right hand, the mouthpiece pointing toward the horizon, until it points toward the north. Then he should say, "Circling, I pass to you who dwells with the grandfather." Thus, he offers the pipe to the North Wind, for because of an offence against the feminine god, the Great Spirit condemned the North Wind to dwell forever with his grandfather, who is *Wazi*, the wizard. Then the Shaman should move the pipe in the same manner, until the mouthpiece points toward the east and should say, "Circling pass to beginning day." This is an offering to the East Wind, for his lodge is where the day begins and he may be addressed as the "beginning day." Then the Shaman should move the pipe in the same manner until the mouthpiece points toward the south, and say, "Circling, pass to the beautiful one." This is an offering to the South Wind, for the "beautiful one" is the feminine god who is the companion of the South Wind and dwells in his lodge, which is under the sun at midday. It pleases the South Wind to be addressed through his companion rather than directly.

The Four Winds are the *akicita* or messengers of the gods and in all ceremonies they have precedence over all other gods and for this reason should be the first addressed.

When the offering has been made to the South Wind the Shaman should move the pipe in the same manner until the mouthpiece again points toward the west, and say, "Circling I complete the four quarters and the time." He should do this because the Four Winds are the four quarters of the circle and mankind knows not where they may be or whence they may come and the pipe should be offered directly toward them. The four quarters embrace all that are on the world and all that are in the sky. Therefore, by circling the pipe, the offering is made to all the gods. The circle is the symbol of time, for the daytime, the night time, and the moon time are circles above the world, and the year time is a circle around the border of the world. Therefore, the lighted pipe moved in a complete circle is an offering to all the times.

When the Shaman has completed the four quarters and the time he should point the mouthpiece of the pipe toward the sky and say, "I pass the pipe to the father with the sky." This is an offering to the Wind, for when the Four Winds left the lodge of their father, the Wind, he went from it, and dwells with the sky. He controls the seasons and the weather, and he should be propitiated when good weather is desired.

Then the Shaman should smoke the pipe and while doing so, should say, "I smoke with the Great Spirit. Let us have a blue day."

To smoke with the Great Spirit means that the one smoking is in communion with the Great Spirit. Then he may make a prayer. The prayer here is for a blue day. Ordinarily, a blue day means a cloudless or successful day. When a Shaman formally prays for a blue day, it means an enjoyable day and an effective performance of a ceremony.

SICUN.

(By Sword.)

The word *Sicun* is from the sacred language of the shamans. It signifies the spirit of a man. This spirit is given to him at birth to guard him against the evil spirits and at death it conducts him to the land of the spirits, but does not go there itself. In the course of his life a man may choose other *Sicun*. He may choose as many as he wishes but such *Sicun* do not accompany him after death; if he has led an evil life no *Sicun* will accompany him.

A shaman should direct a person in the choice of his *Sicun*. When the Lakota chooses a *Sicun* such is the *Ton* of a *Wakan* or it may be the *Ton* of anything. When one chooses a *Sicun* he should give a feast and have a shaman to conduct the ceremony, for no one can have the knowledge necessary to conduct his own ceremony unless he has learned it in a vision. One's *Sicun* may be in any object as in a weapon or even in things to gamble with or in a medicine. But the *Sicun* that a man receives at birth is never found in anything but his body. This *Sicun* is like one's shadow.

No one ever had the *Ton* of the Sun for a *Sicun*, for the Sun will not be a *Sicun* for anyone. On the other hand, the *Ton* of the Sky, while a very powerful *Sicun*, may be secured through old and wise shamans. The *Sicun* of the earth is the next most powerful and next in rank is the *Sicun* of the rock. The *Sicuns* of the bear and the buffalo are often chosen; but that of the bear more frequently. A Shaman's *Wakan* bag is his *Sicun* and all *Sicun* are considered *Wakan*. A doctor's medicine is his *Sicun* and the implements used by a shaman in any ceremony are the *Sicun* of that shaman. Implements that are in such *Sicun* will not be appropriate in a ceremony. A person may lend his *Sicun* to another. The term *Wasicun* is applied to any object used as a *Sicun* or it may represent anything which is *Wakan*. If a ceremony by which one gets a *Wasicun* is performed in the most acceptable manner that *Wasicun* will be the same in essence as the *Wakan* thing it represents. An evil man cannot secure a good *Sicun*, but may secure an evil one. If the ceremony be performed, a *Sicun* is secured. Then that *Sicun* must do as it is directed to do by the one who chooses it; but the chooser must know the songs that belong to it.

SICUN.

(As explained by One-star, July 8th, 1897 and interpreted by Elmer Red-eyes.)

A *Sicun* is like a spirit. It is the *ton-ton sni*, that is, it is immortal and cannot die. A Lakota may have many *Sicunpi*, but he always has one. It is *Wakan*, that is, it is like *Wakan Tanka*. It may be the spirit of anything. A Shaman puts the spirit in a *sicun*. The Bear taught the shamans how to do this. A Lakota should know the songs and if he sings them his *sicun* will do as he wishes. One *Sicun* may be more powerful than another. The *Sicun* may be of the Great Spirit. If it is opposed by

the *Sicun* of herbs it is the most powerful. The *Sicun* of a good spirit is more powerful than the *Sicun* of a bad spirit. The power of sweetgrass is always the spirit of the spirit that is with the south wind. This is always pleasing to the good spirits. The bad spirits do not like the smoke of the sweetgrass. The smoke of sage will drive bad spirits away. A medicineman knows the songs of his medicines and they are his *Sicun*. The *Sicun* that has the power of the spirit should be colored. Red is the color of the sun; blue, the color of the moving spirit; green the color of the spirit of the earth; and yellow is the color of the spirit of the rock. These colors are also for other spirits. Blue is the color of the wind; red is the color of all spirits. The colors are the same for the friends of the Great Spirits. Black is the color of the bad spirits. A man who paints red is pleasing to the spirits. A *Sicun* is a man's spirit. A man's real spirit is different from his *Sicun* spirit. *Ni* is also like a spirit. It is a man's breath. It is the spirit of smoke. It is the spirit of steam. It is the spirit of the sweatlodge. It purifies the body. The bear taught these things to the shamans.

#### AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL NOTE BY SWORD.

At the time of his death Sword was writing an autobiography from which the following has been translated.

When I believed the Oglala *Wakan Tanka* was right I served him with all my powers. I became a *Wicasa Wakan* (Shaman) and conducted all the ceremonies of the Lakota, even the Sun dance, which is the greatest ceremony of the Oglala. I danced the Sun dance to become a Shaman and because of the scars on my chest no Oglala will deny my word. I was a *pejuta wicasa* (medicineman) and belonged to the Matopi (Bears, a cult or society of medicinemen) and the Bears have all the ceremonies of other medicinemen and much more. I was a Blotaunka (leader of war parties) and have fought according to Lakota customs against the enemy, both Indians and white people, so I know all the customs of war that the Oglala practised. I was *Wakiconze* (civil magistrate) and thus know all the customs of the Oglala. I was eligible to chieftainship. In war with the white people I found their *Wakan Tanka* the Superior, I then took the name of Sword and have served *Wakan Tanka* according to the white people's manner and with all my power. I became the chief of the United States Indian Police and held the office until there was no trouble between the Oglala and the white people. I joined the church and am a deacon in it and shall be until I die. I have done all I was able to do to persuade my people to live according to the teachings of the Christian ministers.

I still have my *Wasicun* (ceremonial pouch or bundle of a Shaman) and I am afraid to offend it, because the spirit of an Oglala may go to the spirit land of the Lakota.

#### THE NUMBER FOUR.

(By Tyon.)

In former times the Lakota grouped all their activities by four's. This was because they recognized four directions: the west, the north, the east, and the south; four divisions of time: the day, the night, the moon, and the year; four parts to everything that grows from the ground: the roots, the stem, the leaves, and the fruit; four kinds of things that breathe: those that crawl, those that fly, those that

walk on four legs, and those that walk on two legs; four things above the world: the sun, the moon, the sky, and the stars; four kinds of gods: the great, the associates of the great, the gods below them, and the spirit kind; four periods of human life: babyhood, childhood, adulthood, and old age; and finally, mankind had four fingers on each hand, four toes on each foot, and the thumbs and the great toes of each taken together are four. Since the Great Spirit caused everything to be in four's, mankind should do everything possible in four's.

#### THE CIRCLE.

(By Tyon.)

The Oglala believe the circle to be sacred because the Great Spirit caused everything in nature to be round except stone. Stone is the implement of destruction. The sun and the sky, the earth and the moon are round like a shield, though the sky is deep like a bowl. Everything that breathes is round like the body of a man. Everything that grows from the ground is round like the stem of a tree. Since the Great Spirit has caused everything to be round mankind should look upon the circle as sacred for it is the symbol of all things in nature except stone. It is also the symbol of the circle that marks the edge of the world and therefore of the four winds that travel there. Consequently, it is also the symbol of a year. The day, the night, and the moon go in a circle above the sky. Therefore the circle is a symbol of these divisions of time and hence the symbol of all time.

For these reasons the Oglala make their tipis circular, their camp circle circular, and sit in a circle in all ceremonies. The circle is also the symbol of the tipi and of shelter. If one makes a circle for an ornament and it is not divided in any way, it should be understood as the symbol of the world and of time. If, however, the circle be filled with red, it is the symbol of the sun; if filled with blue, it is the symbol of the sky. If the circle is divided into four parts, it is the symbol of the four winds; if it is divided into more than four parts, it is the symbol of a vision of some kind. If a half circle is filled with red it represents a day; filled with black, the night; filled with yellow, a moon or month. On the other hand, if a half circle is filled with many colors, it symbolizes a rainbow.

One may paint or otherwise represent a circle on his tipi or his shield or his robe. The mouth of a pipe should always be moved about in a circle before the pipe is formally smoked.

#### THE FOUR GREAT VIRTUES.

The four great virtues that all Lakota should practise are, bravery, generosity, truthfulness, and begetting children.

Bravery is the greatest virtue a Lakota can practise. If one is brave, he may transgress in many other things and still keep his tipi in the camp circle and sit in the council of the camp. A brave man is eligible to the positions of *blotaunka* (leader of a war party), *wakiconza* (magistrate or leader of civil matters), *mihunka* (elder or arbitrator) and *akicita* (marshal). His voice will be listened to with respect by everyone and all will do him honor. If he has earned the right to wear the quills of the eagle, he will be consulted in all matters relative to the common welfare, and if he may carry the scalp staff or coup stick, the women will sing songs in his praise.

Generosity is a virtue second only to bravery. A generous man will be forgiven all transgressions except that of being a coward or a liar. By giving of his possessions a man shows his generosity and by giving to the shamans he is sacrificing to the Gods and thereby gains their favor. A man who gives to the needy is respected by all. If he gives all his possessions he shows bravery and the Gods will not let him want. The Buffalo will provide for him and give him women and children and he will be successful in the chase. His spirit will go on the spirit trail endowed with many goods and he will enter the spirit world with honor and be esteemed there.

To be truthful to friends is the third great virtue that every Lakota should practise. If one is a liar his voice will not be listened to by anyone and he cannot lead in anything. Even the Gods will forsake him and the winds will hide the spirit trail from his spirit.

To beget children is a great virtue that every Lakota should practise. To have many children is pleasing to *Woniya Tanka, Skanskan*, who is the *Wanagi Tanka*. He gives the breath of life and the spirit to every child that is born alive and he judges the spirit upon the testimony given by the ghost after death. A Lakota's spirit is honored in the spirit world in proportion to the number of children he has, for he will be the chief of their spirits. The Buffalo god presides over love and the chastity and fecundity of women, and therefore a man should placate this god, and secure his favor, so that his women may bear him many children and be true to him. The Buffalo god also presides over generosity and the chase. One who has the favor of this god may have plenty of meat and robes and can be generous as well as have many children. A Lakota should beget children only with his own women, for if he violates the chastity of a woman who does not belong to him, or begets a child by such, the Buffalo god will plague him in this life and his ghost will bear testimony against him before the *Wanagi Tanka*, the Great Spirit, *Skanskan*.

#### THE CAUSES OF DISEASES

(Told by No-flesh)

My father was a medicineman and he knew all diseases. He knew what caused them. He could cure all diseases. He knew the best of medicines. When he was a very young man, he had a vision, in which the great bear took him to the region of the spirits. He joined the spirits in the mystery dance and they instructed him in regard to all diseases and the medicines good for them.

Sage drives away evil spirits. Sweetgrass pleases the good spirits. The influence (*Tonwan*) of the spirits is everywhere all the time. If the spirits cannot come when they are called their influence will act for them. In all sickness evil spirits should be driven away first. This may be done by making smoke with the sage. There are other things which will drive away certain kinds of evil spirits. Then when the evil spirits are driven away, the good spirits should be invoked. This may be done by singing songs. A medicineman will know what song to sing. He learns what song to sing when he has his vision. It may be that he learns the song from someone else. It may be that his song is not good. If his song is not good, then another medicineman may be able to sing the right song. If medicinemen use the same medicines they should sing songs alike. Evil spirits cause all diseases. Good

spirits do not cause diseases. The evil spirits may cause worms to enter the body. The evil spirits get into the body. They will squeeze the flesh and cause *kan-natipapi* (spasms).

*Kan natipapi* (Tendon drawn up) may pinch the points and cause *okihe yazanpi* (rheumatism). *Okihe yazanpi* (joints pain) may pinch the bowels and cause *cenpi yazanpi* (colic). They may place worms in the bowels. These worms eat the bowels and this gives *kazopi* (diarrhoea). Some worms (*waglula*) do not eat the bowels. The bird medicinemen are best to treat for worms. Sometimes the evil spirits get in the head. This makes *nasu yazanpi* (brain pain, headache).

The menstrual flow of woman is very *wakan*. It will cause diseases of the skin and the genitals. Some medicinemen make medicines of this and if they invoke the right spirits it makes love medicine. The influence of menstruation will give *ticanlalapi* (body numb, paralysis). The influence of the mole is bad. It gives scars and burrows under the skin (scrofula). It also causes lice.

Anog Ite causes pains in a man's testicles. She also gives pains to women when they are menstruating and when they are pregnant.

The *Unktehi* make boils and put bad humors about wounds. Iktomi was shooting Unktehi with a popgun when the Unktehi took an ash sprout and pushed the pith out so hard that it struck Iktomi and entered under the skin. This swelled and got hot and ached until it softened and ran out. This was the way boils first came. Since then when the Unktehi shoot anyone with the pith of an ash, it makes a boil.

Iya was very hungry because no one had died for a long time. He said to the dragon fly, "Give me something to eat for I am very hungry." The dragon fly told him to come with him, and he took him to a swampy place and said to him, "Here is where I get my food. Take what you want of it." So Iya began to catch mosquitoes and eat them. The mosquitoes said to the dragon fly, "Iya is very large and he will eat all mosquitoes and you will have no food left." Then the mosquitoes and the dragon fly said to Iya, "Come with us." He went with them down into the waters to the tipi of the Unktehi and Iktomi went with them. When they came to the tipi Iktomi said to Iya, "What would you like to eat?" Iktomi had deceived Iya so often that he said, "Now I will tell the opposite of what I mean." So he said, "I like meat best and fat meat better still, but I will starve if I have only ghosts to eat. So Iktomi said to the Unktehi, "We must play a joke on Iya. He says he likes meat the best and that he will starve on spirits of men. So we must make him believe that he will get meat and make it so that he will get ghosts only."

So the *Unktehi* and the dragon fly made a little worm, took it to Iya and told him to put it in the water. When anyone drank the water they would die and he would have plenty of meat. So Iya put the worm in the water and when anyone drank the water, the worm would go down the windpipe and into the lungs. It would draw all the fat from the body and eat it and one would cough and spit out the fat that the worm would not eat. When the worm had eaten all the fat then the person died, so that there was little meat or fat. This was what Iya wanted, for his favorite food was spirits. This was how consumption began.

Anog Ite entices persons to follow her and then she shows them her hideous face and this frightens them so that they lose their senses and become insane, or they jump and jerk their arms and legs about until they forget about seeing her (bring on chorea). She is fond of doing this to young girls just as they are about to menstruate for the first time.

Cause of Fever. The Hohnogica build spirit fires near sick people and this

makes them very hot. They sometimes appear to babies and frighten them into spasms. When they rub their hair on one this makes sores and eruptive diseases.

When persons drink water from the streams, they are apt to suck in worms and swallow them. These worms scratch the bowels and gnaw the internal organs and make pains. One is apt to swallow snakes and frogs in the same way and these things live in such a one's belly and they must be fed or they will writhe about and cause pains.

Frost Bite. Waziya blows his breath on one and makes one cold even on a hot day. If Waziya touches one, the flesh that he touches dies.

If one kills a spider with the hands, then Iktomi will put sand in such a one's eyes and make them sore.

When one is wounded the *Unktehi* put their spittel into the wound which is the humor and they will shoot pith into the wound which makes the discharge.

If one has dedicated an animal or part of an animal according to his vision and then such a one should eat that animal or part of the animal before the dedication runs out, then the thing that it was dedicated to, will bring some kind of sickness upon such a one.

There are many things that are *ohhaka* (injurious as food). Some because they are poison and some because they are mysterious. All such things will cause diseases. All diseases are things which get into the body and do violence to it in some way. The thing to do is to get these things out of the body. May be it is the influence of a supernatural being (*Taku Wakan*). May be it is something like a worm. If it is an influence (*tonwan*), then the shamans (*Wicasa Wakan*) can cure the sick the best. If it is something else, then the medicinemen (*Pejuta wicasa*) can make the best cure. If the sickness is of long duration, then someone should seek a vision and learn what to do. It is always the best to *iwani* (take a vapor bath with ceremonies). It is best always to make smoke of sage and then smoke of sweetgrass. This will drive away the evil spirits and please the good spirits.

The shamans can make medicines that are very mysterious and powerful. Their incantations (*pikiyapi*) make it powerful. By their incantations they can cause diseases. These diseases are *lokeca* (different from the ordinary).

The medicinemen learn their medicines from the spirits in a vision. The spirits tell them what to use and how to use it. Their medicines are nearly always herbs (*wato*) or roots (*hutkan*). Therefore, all their medicines are called grass roots (*pezuta*). The medicines drive the disease out in the sweat, in the vomit, in the defecation, in the urine, and in the breath. To drive disease out in the sweat, is the best and easiest way; in the breath, is the next best and easiest way; in the defecation, is the next best way; in the urine is a good way; and in the vomit, is a very hard way, but some diseases will not come out in any other way.

## NARRATIVES.

The following narratives were collected in the course of this investigation and are offered as a contribution to Dakota folklore. About the only data so far published under this head are to be found in the following fragmentary collections: S. R. Riggs, *Dakota Grammar, Texts, and Ethnography*,<sup>1</sup> Clark Wissler, *Some Dakota Myths*,<sup>2</sup> and the author's paper on *Sioux Games*.<sup>3</sup> Practically none of these duplicate the narratives offered here, though there are some correspondences as noted in the text.

## WHEN THE PEOPLE LAUGHED AT HANWI.

Wazi was chief of the people who dwell under the world, and his woman, Kanka, was a seer. Their daughter, Ite, the wife of Tate, was the most beautiful of women. She gave birth to four sons at one time which proved these children to be gods. Yet Wazi was not content, for he wished to have powers like a god. Iktomi knew this and he schemed to have Wazi play his pranks. He told Wazi that he should have the powers he wished for if he would help make others ridiculous. Wazi was afraid, but he told Kanka what Iktomi had said. She said that if they had the power of the gods no one could take it from them and then they could laugh at Iktomi. Iktomi, lurking near, heard her say this and smiled.

He went and sat in the tipi of Kanka. He told her that she was a wise woman and a seer and that for a long time he had thought she ought to have power to do as she liked. He said he would be pleased if he could help her get such power so that she could do much good for the people. He then talked of the beauty of her daughter, Ite. He said that because of her beauty she was the wife of a god and the mother of gods and therefore ought to have a seat with the gods. He talked much like this. Kanka asked him how he could help her get power to do as she wished to do. He said he would think about this and then tell her.

When Iktomi had gone, Wazi told Kanka that if she was not careful Iktomi would make the people laugh at her. Again, Iktomi came and told Kanka that if she would help him play his pranks he would give her power to do as the gods do. Kanka said that if he would first give her and Wazi such powers and they could prove that they had them, then they would help him to do what he wished. Iktomi agreed to this and gave them the powers they wished for. Then he talked of the beauty of their daughter until the night was almost gone.

Early the next morning he came and told Wazi and Kanka that they could prove their powers by making anyone more beautiful. He showed them how to make a charm that would make more beautiful anyone who would carry it on the body. He

<sup>1</sup> *Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge*, vol. 9, Washington, 1839.

<sup>2</sup> *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, vol. 20, pp. 121-131, 195-206, 1907.

<sup>3</sup> *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, vol. 19, pp. 29-36, 1906.

then went to the tipi of Ite and sat and talked with her. He told her that she was very industrious and modest, that she was as beautiful as Hanwi, and that if she were more beautiful she would be the most beautiful of all beings.

Ite told her mother what Iktomi had said and Kanka told her that she would sit with the gods. Again, Iktomi sat and talked with Ite. He told her that Wi, the chief of the gods, had noticed her beauty and had spoken of it. Again, Ite told her mother what Iktomi had said, and Kanka said that Ite would sit with the chief of the gods. She gave her daughter the charm and bade her carry it on her body. Ite carried the charm and grew more beautiful each night. Iktomi told Wi that the wife of Tate was the most beautiful of all beings, that she was the wife of a god and the mother of gods, and that she ought to have a seat with the gods. He then sat and talked with Kanka and told her that it would please Wi to see Ite.

Wazi told Kanka to be careful or Iktomi would cause the people to laugh at her. She said that they could laugh at Iktomi, for he could not take from them the powers he had given them; that when the people that now lived were forgotten, people would speak of Wazi and Kanka because their daughter sat with the chief of the gods. Iktomi lurked near and heard her say this and he smiled.

Ite adorned herself, but there was no fire in her tipi, neither was there food nor drink, and her little sons cried because they were hungry. She walked with her father and mother, and they passed before the face of Wi. Wi saw that Ite was very beautiful and then he remembered what Iktomi had said to him. So he talked with her and invited her to sit at the feast of the gods.

Iktomi sat in the tipi of Ite and talked with her. He told her that Wi was tired of his companion, Hanwi, and wished for a younger and a more beautiful companion. Then Ite told him that Wi had invited her to sit at the feast of the gods. He told her that when all were seated at the feast, she must take the vacant seat. Kanka helped her daughter to adorn herself and foretold that Ite would live forever like the gods.

When the feast was ready, Iktomi was talking with Hanwi. He told her that Wi thought that a woman, Ite, was the most beautiful of all beings and had invited her to sit at the feast of the gods. So Hanwi stayed to adorn herself and came late to the feast. Ite came early and when all were seated, she saw a vacant seat beside Wi, and she took it. Wi did not frown. He smiled and talked with Ite. Hanwi came and saw a woman sitting on her seat. She covered her head with her robe and stood behind Ite. The people saw this, and they laughed at her. Iktomi laughed loudest and longest. Kanka sang a song of joy, but Wazi was afraid. Tate left the feast and went to the tipi of Ite. He painted his face and the faces of his little sons, black.

After the feast, Hanwi stood before Skan hiding her face with her robe. Skan asked her why she hid her face. She replied because she was shamed by Wi who had permitted a woman to sit in her place so the people laughed at her and Iktomi laughed loudest and longest.

Then Skan asked Wi why he had permitted a woman to sit on the seat of Hanwi. Wi replied that because of the beauty of the woman he had forgotten his companion, Hanwi.

Skan asked Ite why she sat on the seat of Hanwi. She replied that her mother foretold that she would sit beside the chief of the gods and had made her more beautiful, that Iktomi had told her that she was the most beautiful of all beings, that Wi was tired of Hanwi and wished for a younger and more beautiful companion, and that Wi invited her to sit at the feast of the gods, that she had seen the vacant seat beside him and sat on it.

Skan asked Kanka why she had schemed to have her daughter sit on the seat of Hanwi. She replied that as a seer she foresaw that Ite would sit beside the chief of the gods, and that she and Wazi had gotten from Iktomi the powers to do as the gods do. By these powers they had made their daughter more beautiful, so that Wi would not be ashamed of her when she sat beside him, and that Iktomi had told her that Wi was pleased to see Ite.

Skan asked Wazi why he had gotten the powers from Iktomi. He replied that he wished for the powers so that he could do more good.

Then Skan told Wi that the chief of the gods must not forget; that because he had permitted the beauty of a woman to cause him to forget his companion, she would be his companion no more, that she could go her own way and travel as she pleased; that he and she had ruled the two periods of time, day and night, but that forever after she would rule the third period, the interval between the time she went from him until she returned to him; that because he had caused her to hide her face for shame she would forever hide her face when near him, and only uncover it when she was far from him.

Skan told Ite that because she had forgotten her husband and little sons she would be with them no more; that her unborn child would come before its time and it would forever be a little child and abide with Tate; that because she was so vain of her beauty that she dared try to usurp the place of Hanwi, she should go to the world and there live forever without friends; that she should keep her beautiful face forever, but she would have another face so horrid that those who looked upon it would fly from her or go mad; and that she would be known as Anog Ite, the Double-Woman, or the Two-Faced.

Skan told Kanka that because she had obtained the powers of a god by fraud she should go to the world and there live alone forever, until she could use her powers to help little children and young people, and that she would forever be known as Wakanka, the Old Woman, the Witch.

Skan told Wazi that because he had not used his powers to do good, but to cause shame for his kindred and the gods, he should live forever alone in the world until he could use his powers to help his grandsons and that he should forever be known as Wazi, the Old Man, the Wizard.

Then Iktomi laughed loud and long and taunted Wakanka and said that she would have cheated him to get the powers of a god and then would have laughed at him, but that he had made her and her kindred ashamed.

Skan then asked Iktomi why he had schemed to make Wakanka and her kindred ashamed and to cause shame for Hanwi. Iktomi said that he was a god and the son of a god, that his father, the rock, was the oldest of the gods, that he had named all things that are named and made all languages that are spoken, that he had done much good and should be treated as a god; but because his other parent, the flying god, had no shape his form was queer and all laughed at him; that when he did good all laughed at him as if he were making sport, that because everyone laughed at him he would laugh at everyone; that he had made the chief of the gods and the most beautiful of the gods ashamed; that he had made the chief of the people and the most beautiful of women ashamed; and that he would make all the gods and all the people ashamed.

Then Skan told him that because he laughed when others were shamed or suffered and because he threatened the gods, he must go to the world and remain there forever without friends; that all of mankind would hate him, and all the gods despise him, and that the sound of the rattles would be torture to him.

Then Iktomi laughed loud and long. Skan asked him why he laughed. He replied that Skan had forgotten the birds and the beasts; that he would dwell with them and talk with each in its own language, and that he would have pleasure and would make fools of mankind.

Then Tate blackened his face and with his four sons sat before Skan. Skan called him his comrade and asked him what he wished. Tate told Skan to look upon his face and the faces of his little children that were blackened because their mother was taken from them forever. He said Ite was but a woman and that others stronger than she had caused her to forget the woman's place, that though his sons were gods, they were little children and wept for their mother's care. He begged Skan to let him bear the punishment of Ite and let her remain with her children.

Skan told Tate that because of his love for Anog Ite he could dwell near her until the fourth period of time and then he could do with the woman as he wished, that he could send a token to Tate and then Tate would send four sons to establish the directions on the world and they would make the fourth period of time.

Hanwi blackened her face and mourned with Tate and the people laughed at her no more.

#### WHEN THE WIZARD CAME.

The wizard was not permitted on the world, so he traveled around on the edge until he made a trail there. He spoke to the stars as they passed near him and asked each for permission to go to the world, but they never granted his request. He saw that some stars never came down to the edge of the world so he set up a lodge under them and dwelt in it so that he might be near if they should come down, for he thought that one of them might give him permission to go on the world. In this lodge a vision came to him in which he was told to go on the trail again where a message would come to him. He followed the trail around the edge of the world and a bright star spoke to him. It appeared in the form of a beautiful young woman who told him she was the daughter of the Sky and that her father had sent her with a message to him. She told him to return to his lodge and abide in it until the moon was again round and then go upon the world where he would find the sons of Tate. When he found them he must with his power as a wizard aid them in the work they were doing. When this work was done she told him to go to the lodge of Tate, and then he could forever afterwards go upon the world as he wished.

He did as he was bidden. He found the sons of Tate camped for the night, for they were making a journey. He said, "Ho, my grandchildren," and asked permission to camp with them that night. Because Yata was the first-born he was the leader of the party. He answered in a surly manner and turned his back towards the old man. But Okaga, the fourth-born spoke kindly and bade the wizard sit on his side of the campfire. When the brothers ate, the old man said he was hungry. Yata replied that he should not travel without food, for he had none to give away; but Okaga gave him some of his food which he kept in a little bag. The old man ate much of it, but when he returned the bag to Okaga it was full of food. Ever afterwards, it remained full of good food, though Okaga often ate from it until he was satisfied.

When they had eaten, the three older brothers wrapped their robes about them and lay down to sleep. Okaga gave his robe to the old man and it spread until it was so large that both Okaga and the old man could lie upon it and cover with it. So they slept together that night.

In the morning, the robe was small and light, but ever afterward it remained like new, and would stretch so that Okaga could lie upon it and cover with it at the same time. He asked the brothers where they wished to go. They told him that their father had sent them to make the four directions and put them on the edge of the world. He told them that he lived on the edge of the world, and could guide them to it, and that if they would do as he bade them he could bring them there quickly.

They agreed to do as he would tell them. Then he gave each of them a pair of moccasins, for before this their feet had always been bare. He showed them how to put them on and bade them stand side by side with him. Then Yata said his direction should be the first because it was his birthright to be first in everything and that his father had told him that his direction must be on the edge of the world where the shadows are longest at midday. He ordered the old man to guide them to that place. Then the old man told them that with the aid of the moccasins they could step from hilltop to hilltop far away. He bade Yata step first; but he was afraid, and would not move. Then the old man bade Iya, the second born, to step, and he did so and was soon on a hilltop far away. Then Yata stepped forward and was beside Iya. Yanpa, the third born, then stepped, and he too stood beside his brothers. When the three brothers had gone the old man asked Okaga to come with him; they stepped together and went far beyond the three brothers. He called them. When they came he told them that they could travel best under clouds and immediately it became so cloudy that neither the sun nor the sky could be seen. They traveled under the clouds more swiftly than the birds could fly and in the evening they came to a high mountain where the old man told them to camp that night. In the morning he told them to go over the mountain and there they would find the edge of the world. They did as he bade them. When they came to the edge of the world they set up a great heap of stones. This was the first direction.

When the first direction was made they saw the sun. They saw that the mountain stood where the sun went down at the close of the day's journey. When they saw this, Yata raged, for this was Iya's direction and it was first. The old man stood before the brothers and told Yata that because he was cruel and surly, and a coward afraid to step first in the work his father had sent him to do, his birthright had been taken from him and given to Iya and that Iya would forever be considered first in all things. Then Yata hid his face and wept.

#### THE OLD WOMAN.

There once was a very industrious woman. Her man provided for her so that her tipi was large and there were plenty of robes and clothing. Her children were all boys and the family was very happy. Her mother gave her a charm which made her more beautiful as she grew older.

The chief was a very brave, strong, and handsome man. He had four women, but he also wanted this beautiful woman. When he talked to her she would not listen to him. He told her mother that he would teach her how to become a witch if she would persuade her daughter to listen to him. The mother agreed. She became a witch through his teaching and made a philter for him. With this philter the chief gained an influence over the beautiful woman and they intrigued. She neglected her tipi and her children and became a wicked woman, but continued to grow more beautiful every day. Her husband still loved her and he did not cut her

nose nor scar her face. She caused much trouble among the women, but the chief could do nothing to punish her. When her mother saw what she had caused, she became old and feeble and wanted to die.

The wicked woman boasted that she was more beautiful than the Moon, so the Moon blackened her face and complained to the Sky. The Sky told the chief that because he had intrigued with this woman and caused her to forget her tipi and her children, his tipi should be placed outside the camp circle as long as he lived. The Sky told the woman that as long as she lived she would have the face of a terrible beast. The Sky informed the Old Woman that she would be stronger than the strongest man and would never die.

The Old Woman never erects her tipi in a camp. She appears withered and feeble, but is always the friend of the helpless. She may appear to young men and young women and bring them good fortune, if they deserve it. But she can bring misfortune on anyone. She is Wakanka, the Old Woman, the Witch.

#### WHEN WOHPE CAME TO THE WORLD.

Before the directions were given to the world Tate with his four sons and his little son dwelt in his round lodge beyond the region of the pines. At midday the sun looked through the door of the lodge toward the place of honor to see that all was well with Tate. The seat of Tate was the place of honor and that of his oldest son, Yata, was beside him. The seat of the second-born son, Eya, was at the right side of the lodge, and that of the third-born son, Yanpa, was at the left side, while that of the youngest son, Okaga, was beside the door. His little son, Yum, had no birth; therefore, he had no seat in the lodge, but sat where he chose.

Tate did the woman's work in the lodge. Each morning his four sons set out to travel over the world. Sometimes Yum traveled with Okaga. One time when all the sons were away something shining fell near the lodge and Tate went to look at it. It was a woman wearing a soft white dress. She carried a queer pouch that was marked with strange symbols. He asked her whence she came and she said she came from the stars. He asked her whither she would go. She replied that her father had sent her to find friends on the earth. He asked who was her father; she said that the sky was her father. Then Tate told her to come with him to live in his lodge. He bade her tell his sons nothing of who she was or whence she came. He gave her the woman's seat in the lodge. When he began to make a robe of tanned skin she said she would do the woman's work in the lodge, so he gave her the skin.

She took from her pouch a sharp stone and cut the skin into queer patterns. Then she took from the pouch an awl and sinew thread and quickly sewed the pieces together and made a garment which she gave to Tate and showed him how to wear it.

In the evening, Yata came striding to the door and jerked the flap aside and looked inside the lodge. He saw the woman and then he gazed at his father. He went away from the lodge and sat and stared at the ground. Soon Eya came, singing and hallowing, and threw the flap up and looked inside the lodge. He saw the woman and his father; he looked from one to the other, and then sat beside Yata and gazed at the ground. Then Yanpa strolled up to the lodge and raised the flap and started to go in, when he saw the woman. He looked at her and then at his father, and then at the lodge inside and out. Then he went and sat with Yata and Eya and he too gazed at the ground.

Soon Okaga and Yum came back together. Okaga asked his brothers why they sat and gazed at the ground. Yata said that the witch was in the lodge; Eya said that their father was wearing a strange garment; and Yanpa said there was nothing to eat. Yum ran to the door and lifted the flap and saw the woman. She looked at him and smiled and he went inside the lodge. She bade him sit beside her. He sat down and continued to gaze at her eyes. She put her arm around him and he smiled at her. Okaga came to the door and saw Yum sitting beside the woman and smiling at her, so he went inside. He saw that the woman was young and beautiful and that her braided hair was long and smooth, and her dress was white and clean and that even her feet were clothed. He sat at his seat. Then Tate remarked that he had forgotten his work and it would be late before he could prepare the food for the evening. The woman offered to prepare the food. Immediately, there was a fire in the fireplace and there were hot stones in it. She put the stones in the cooking bag and the food boiled. Then she told Tate that the food was ready to be served. Okaga gazed at her, astonished, but Tate only smiled as if he were well pleased.

He called his sons who were outside to come and eat. Yanpa said that there was no food prepared when he looked in the lodge. Eya said that no one had brought wood or water and the food could not be ready. Yata was sure it was the witch who had bewitched their father and the food. Again, Tate called. Yanpa consented to go in. He sat at his place and stared at the woman. Yata said, "She will bewitch him also." Eya said, "The witch was old, but this woman is young." Again Tate called. This time Eya said that this was but a young woman and he would go inside. He went in and sat at his place and stared at her. Then Tate called again, saying that the food was prepared and they were waiting for Yata so that they might eat. Yata said, "She is the witch, but I will drive her from the lodge." He strode to the door and stepped into the lodge, scowling. The woman looked at him and smiled. He gazed at her and then meekly went to his place and sat down. He looked around the lodge, at his father and at little Yum who sat beside the woman. When the four brothers were seated, all silently gazed at the ground though Yum continued to gaze at the woman's eyes. Tate gazed at the fire and smiled as if something pleased him.

Then the woman asked Tate what he most wished to eat. He replied he would like tripe and wild turnips and soup. She took from her pouch a new wooden bowl and platter and from the cooking bag tripe and boiled turnips and she dipped the bowl full of soup from it. She gave these to Tate and called him her father. The brothers all looked at her and then at their father, but he only gazed at the fire and smiled. Then she called Yata, her brother, and asked him what he most wished to eat. He said he wished boiled flesh and fat and pemmican and soup. She took from her pouch a new bowl and platter of wood, and from the cooking bag, boiled flesh and fat, and she dipped from it the bowl full of soup, and she placed pemmican on the platter, and gave it all to Yata. Then she called Eya, her brother, and asked him what he wished to eat. He told her he wanted a boiled duck and wild rice and soup. Again, she took a platter and bowl from her pouch, and from the bag a duck and rice and placed them on the platter, and dipped the bowl full of soup and gave them to Eya. Then she called Yanpa, her brother, and asked him what he wished. He said he wanted tripe, flesh, fat, a duck, turnips, rice, and soup. She put all these things on a platter and in the bowl that she took from her pouch and gave them to Yanpa. Then she took from her pouch a little platter and a little bowl. On the platter she put strange food and in the bowl strange drink that had an odor like sweetgrass. She handed these to Yum and told him to give them to his brother who

sat by the door. He did so. Then Yata said that as he was the oldest brother she should have given him the best food instead of to the youngest. Okaga looked at the food, there was little of it; he looked at the drink and there was little of that. Then he looked at the woman, but she and Yum were eating together. He put all the food in his mouth and it made but one mouthful. He ate it and it was good. He looked at the little platter and there was more food on it. This he ate and still there was more food on the platter. He drank all there was in the bowl and immediately it was full again. So he ate and drank until he was satisfied.

When it was time to lie down to sleep the four brothers went out of the lodge and found a new tipi near by. They lifted the door flap and inside they saw four beds, one at the place of honor, one on the right, and one on the left side, and one near the door. Yata said it must be the witch. Eya said the witch had treated them well. Yanpa said he wished the witch would always prepare their food. Then the three brothers went inside the tipi. Each lay down on his bed to sleep, but Okaga sat beside the water, and played on his flute. The music was as soft as a whisper, but the woman heard it, and she smiled. Yum asked her why she smiled and she said because he was always to be her little brother. Far into the night, Okaga sat by the water and gazed at the stars.

In the morning Okaga rose early as was his wont, to bring wood and water for his father, but when he came to the door of the lodge he found much wood and the water bag was full. The fire burned with hot stones in it and the cooking bag had food in it. The woman was astir but she did not look at Okaga. The father called his sons and all came and each sat in his place. The woman served them with food and it was good. When all had eaten the father told his sons that the time appointed by the Great Spirit was completed and now there would be the fourth period of time. First, he told them, they must fix the directions on the world, but when they returned to his lodge it would be the fourth period; that since they were four brothers they should fix a direction for each of them, and thus there would be four directions; that they should go to the trail around on the edge of the world and travel together until they came to the place for each direction, and there they should pile a great heap of stones to mark the direction forever. He said Yata was the oldest son and entitled to the first direction which must be where the shadows are longest at midday. The direction for Eya must be where the sun goes over the mountain and down under the world when his day's journey is done. The direction for Yanpa must be where the sun comes up by the edge of the world to begin his daily journey. The direction for Okaga must be under the sun at midday. He told them that the journey must be long, that it would be some moons before they returned to his lodge, and that there would be as many moons in the fourth time as had passed from the time they left the lodge until their return. He told them to prepare for four days and start on their journey on the fifth day.

For four days they prepared; on the morning of the fifth they went from their father's lodge. When they had gone, Tate mourned for them as for the dead, for he knew they would abide in his lodge no more.

#### HOW THE NORTH WIND LOST HIS BIRTHRIGHT.

The directions moved from place to place over the world so the Wind told the Four Winds to mark the directions so that each of them would know where he belonged. He told them that the North Wind, as the oldest, ought to have the

first direction, which must be farthest from the Sun. He told them to put a great pile of stones at each direction so that it would be forever marked. When they were going to the edge of the world to mark the directions, the wizard met them. Because the North Wind was surly and a coward he took from him the birthright of the oldest and gave it to the West wind. Then he made it cloudy so that the Sun could not be seen, and guided them to the edge of the world. A little bird told them to set up a pile of stones there. They did so. When the Sun was leaving the world He passed very near them. Then they knew that that was the direction of the West Wind and that it would always be considered the first. Then the Four Winds traveled together until they came to the place where the Sun was furthest from them. There they saw the tipi of the wizard and he invited them inside. They all went inside except the North Wind who said that his tipi should be where the tipi of the wizard stood and that he was afraid of the wizard. Then he told a magpie to sit on the poles of the tipi and befoul the wizard when he came through the door. When magpie did this the wizard said that because of this it should befoul its nest forever. So to this time magpies befoul their nests. Then he told the North Wind that because he had told the magpie to do a nasty thing, he should be his messenger forever and that the wizard would take the first place in the name of the direction of the North Wind. This is why the direction of the North Wind is called Waziyata.

#### HOW THE WEST WIND BECAME THE COMPANION OF THE WINGED GOD.

The Four Winds fixed the four directions on the world. They were told to fix the direction of the North Wind first, but Wazi deceived them so that they came first to the place of the West Wind and fixed that first. Thus the West Wind is the first in all things. When they came near the edge of the world, they were at the base of a high mountain and Wazi told them to go over the mountain the next day.

In the morning it was cloudy and when they were eating their morning meal they heard fearful noises on the mountain, but they could not see what was there because of the clouds. They were all much afraid and the East Wind wished to fly from the noises and the West Wind and North Wind feared to go up on the mountain. Then the South Wind offered to go first and the others could follow. If anything happened to harm him he promised to call to them and they could go back; but if he found no danger, he would call to them and they could come on. He went far ahead and when he came to the top of the mountain he saw a level space and near its center a large round lodge, open at the top and with no door. Close beside the lodge was a great cedar tree and high in the tree was a huge nest made of dried bones. In the nest was an enormous egg. Someone in the lodge was drumming and a young one in the egg was pecking at the shell. These made the fearful noises that were heard below the mountain.

As Okaga cautiously approached the lodge, a voice bellowed to him and asked who it was that dared approach the lodge of the Winged God. He replied that the Great Spirit had sent him and his three brothers, the Four Winds, to fix the four directions on the world, and that his name was Okaga, the South Wind. The voice told him to pass on and do his work. Then the South Wind called to his brothers to come. He passed on over and down the mountain. When the three brothers reached the top of the mountain, they hesitated, but a voice in the lodge bellowed at

them and told them to pass on and do their work. They went across the top, but when they came to the lodge, Eya stopped to look at it, but the other two hurried on and went down the mountain. Eya went around the lodge and then he went to the tree and looked at the nest and the egg.

Then he came back to the lodge and a voice within bellowed loudly and asked him what he wished. He asked who was in the lodge and a swallow flew up out of it. The West Wind looked at this bird, amazed and asked how it could bellow so loudly. The swallow told him that this was the lodge of the Winged God, that the nest in the tree was his nest, and the egg in the nest was his egg. Then Eya said he would like to see the Winged God. The swallow said that if one saw the real Winged God that one would be *heyoka*, and must forever act and speak in an anti-natural manner. But, if one saw Heyoka, then one need not be *heyoka*. Eya said he would like to see the real Winged God and also Heyoka. Immediately, there arose from the lodge a shapeless thing like a cloud of smoke, but with a huge beak like an eagle. In the beak were four rows of sharp teeth like those of a wolf. It had an eye and its glance was the lightning. Its voice was the thunder. It had four-jointed wings. It had no feet or legs, but eight toes, and on each toe were enormous talons like those of the eagle and each talon was as long as an eagle's wing. It seized the egg in its talons and shook it and the noise was the rolling thunder. As the West Wind looked at it, it became like a giant man and spoke to him. It said that because he was so brave and had looked at the Winged God without falling down or running away, that he should forever be the companion of Wakinyan, the Winged, and that he should aid this God in cleansing the world of filthy and evil things. When the Heyoka said this he vanished. Then the sparrow said that from that time on, as long as mankind had ceremonies for the Gods, the West Wind should have precedence over all Gods, except one; that when he had done the work he was going to do, he must make his tipi on the mountain at the edge of the world and have that for his abiding place; that his direction would be the first established and the first recognized.

Then there was a feast ready to be served and Eya and the swallow partook of it. When the West Wind drank of the soup he slept. When he awoke he was with his brother and they were at the edge of the world. He commanded his brothers to erect a great pile of stones. When it was erected, the North Wind said that since this was the first direction it belonged to him; but Eya said that his direction should be where the shadows were shortest at midday, and because it was cloudy they could not see shadows. Then he told his brothers each to choose a bird as his messenger. So the North Wind chose the magpie, the East Wind a crow, the South Wind a meadow lark, and Eya chose the swallow. Then Eya said that the messenger that would alight on the monument would decide whose direction it marked. Immediately, a swallow sat on the pile of stones. Yata bowed his head and covered it with his robe; he was ashamed because he knew that Eya would be first forever and have precedence over him. Since then, when the West Wind is coming with the Winged God, Wakinyan, the swallows fly high in circles.

#### WOONG WOHPE.

(a)

Wohpe dwelt in the tipi of old Tate and served him and his sons. The skins she dressed were soft and white; the moccasins she made were good and comfortable;

the food she prepared was always abundant. She kept the fire burning and the talk pleasant so that all were happy in her presence.

Yata said to his brothers, "I want Wohpe for my woman." Yanpa replied, "You are too cold and cruel for Wohpe. Were she alone with you, she would soon perish. Remember your touch upon her dress. Wohpe should have a man who is happy and has no care. I want her for my woman." Then Eya said, "Wohpe delights to serve others. This is her happiness. My pleasure is to be served. I would have her for my woman."

Thus they disputed, while Okaga said nothing and Yumni fled to his father's tipi. They strove day by day each to still the others and make his claim good, till Okaga said, "Brothers, ask Wohpe. Whom she chooses she should serve," and they were quiet.

Yata said to Wohpe, "I want you for my woman. I am strong and my will is right. I am dreaded, for I am mighty. I will give you a part in my powers. Will you be my woman?"

Said Eya, "Yanpa, if my rest is undisturbed I do no harm. My evening walk is my only want. Only when I am called early in the day do I fume and plague others that I may be left at my ease. Will you be my woman?"

Wohpe heard them and looked into the eyes of Okaga. That was all. Then she said, "He who will do that which pleases me most, in his robe will I stand, and him will I serve."

With this decision they must abide; the brothers were again at wordy war as to who should first make an offering for the pleasure of Wohpe.

(b)

Before the creation of the world the South wind, the North wind, the West wind, and the East wind dwelt together in the far north in the land of the ghosts. They were brothers. The North wind, the oldest, was always cold and stern. The west wind, next to the oldest, was always strong and noisy. The East wind, the third, was always cross and disagreeable. The South wind, the next to the youngest, was always pleasant. With them dwelt a little brother, the whirlwind, who was always full of fun and frolic.

The North wind was a great hunter and delighted in killing things. The South wind took pleasure in making things. The West wind was a helper of his brother, the South wind, and sometimes he helped his brother, the North wind. The East wind was lazy and good for nothing. The little whirlwind never had anything to do, so he played all the time and danced and made sport for his brothers.

After a long time, a beautiful being fell from the stars. Her hair was like the light and her dress was red and green and white and blue, and all the colors, and she had decorations and ornaments of all colors. As she was falling, she met the five brothers and begged them to give her some place to rest. They took pity on her and invited her into their tipi. When she came into the tipi, everything was bright and pleasant and all were happy, so all the four brothers wanted to marry her. Each asked her to be his woman.

She told them that she was pleased with their tipi and would be the woman of the one who did that which pleased her the most. So the North wind went hunting and brought her his game; but everything he brought turned to ice as soon as he laid it before her, and the tipi was dark and cold and dreary.

Then the West wind brought his drum and sang and danced before her, but he made so much noise and disturbed things so much that the tipi fell down and she had hard work to raise it again.

Then the East wind sat down by her and talked to her so foolishly that she felt like crying.

Then the South wind made beautiful things for her. She was happy and the tipi was warm and bright. She said that she would be the South wind's woman. This made the North wind very angry for he claimed that it was his right as the oldest, to have the beautiful being. But the South wind would not give her up. The North wind and South wind quarreled all the time about her and finally the South wind told his woman that they would go away so that they might live in peace. They started, but the North wind tried to steal her. When she found what the North wind was trying to do, she took off her dress, spread it out, and got under it to hide. When North wind came to the dress he thought that he had found the beautiful being and he embraced it, but everything on it grew hard and cold and icy. He heard the South wind coming and he fled to his tipi. The South wind found only a cold hard thing like his woman's dress but he could not find the woman so he went back to look for her. When he had gone, the North wind came again and said to the woman, "I know you are under this dress and I am coming there also." So he went to the edge of the dress, but the woman spread it out farther that way. Then he went to the edge at another place and she spread that side out. He kept going from place to place and she kept spreading her dress wider and wider until it became so wide that there was no end or side left.

Then he heard the South wind coming again and he ran to his tipi. When the South wind came again he examined the dress and found that it was truly his woman's dress and then he knew that the North wind had embraced it. He called loudly for his woman and she answered that she was under the dress and then he knew that the North wind had embraced it. He called again for his woman and she answered him that she was under the dress, but that she had stretched it so wide to keep away from the North wind, that there was neither a side or an end to it, so she could not get out from under it. Then the South wind followed on the trail of the North wind until he came to the tipi where he found him boasting to the other brothers of what he had done.

The South wind went in and reproached his brother. They quarreled and finally fought and the North wind was about to conquer when the West wind rushed in to help the South wind and they conquered the North wind. They could not kill him so they bound his feet and hands and left him in the tipi. The other brothers all sided with the South wind and determined to live no longer with the North wind. So the West wind went to live where the sun sets, the East wind where the sun rises, the South wind went opposite the tipi of the North wind far as he could go.

The little whirlwind was too small to have a tipi of his own, so he lived with the South wind the most of the time, but part of the time he was to live with the West wind. The East wind was so lazy and disagreeable that he would not even visit him.

When they were leaving the North wind, he defied them all and told them that he would forever combat them, that he would break his bonds and go on the war-path against each of them. He said to the South wind, "I know where your woman is. I know what covers her and hides her. When I loosen my bonds I will go and

try to get her. I have destroyed the beauty of her dress. If I do not get her I will again destroy its beauty. I will fight you forever for her."

The South wind came again to his woman's frozen dress. He called her and she answered, but she could not come from under it, neither could he go below it for it was spread so wide that there was no end to it. He journeyed to his brothers' tipi. They came and helped him; they warmed the dress, but it was still ugly and like a dead thing. When his woman found that he was warming her dress, she thrust bright ornaments through it and it was again beautiful with green and red and blue and all colors.

So the three brothers, the South wind, the West wind, and the East wind continued to warm the dress, but the East wind was so lazy that he only worked occasionally in the evening. Little Whirlwind was too small to do much work but he danced about over the dress and threw things in the air and tried to keep the South wind from grieving over his loss. The South wind grew weary with grief and work and went to his tipi to sleep and left only the West wind to guard the dress.

Then the North wind freed himself and came. He and the West wind fought furiously and the North wind was about to conquer and had destroyed all the ornaments on the dress and made it hard and cold. When the North wind came, little Whirlwind fled to South wind's tipi to tell him. He found South wind asleep and could not wake him. He tried and tried again and again, but could not wake him, so he ran all the way to the tipi of East wind who was sitting looking on at the fight between his brothers, intending to take sides with the one who won. Little Whirlwind persuaded East wind to go with him and wake South wind.

When South wind was told what had happened he came in a great rage to the help of his brother, the West wind. They fought all over the dress and finally North wind was driven back to his tipi, but he would slip away at night and embrace the dress and make it hard and cold until he was bound again. Then the South wind and West wind had to warm the dress again and the woman under the dress had to push the ornaments through it again. Thus began the warfare between the brothers which continues to the present time.

#### THE WARS OF THE WINDS.

Before the world was created, Tate lived far beyond the pines in the land of the ghosts. He was old, but was a wise Shaman with great power over everything. He had five sons, Yata, Yanpa, Eya, Okaga, and Yumni.

Yata was cruel and delighted in giving pain to others. He quarreled with his brothers and spoiled their games and delighted in chasing little Yumni so that the poor little fellow never dared to appear until late in the day, when he thought that Yata was away and then always in the presence of Okaga whom he loved. Yata went about day and night to do mischief and when he came near things were gloomy and cold and when he touched anything it became hard and dead.

Yanpa was lazy and disagreeable. He wanted to lie about the tipi all day. If he was allowed to do so he would sleep all day and come out in the evening and be pleasant enough till dark when he would go back and lie down again; but if he was compelled to go out early in the day he would grumble and find fault with everything and make himself and everyone else miserable until he was allowed to go and lie down.

Eya was strong and hearty. He was usually up early every morning and going

about doing something; but he was very boisterous and awkward and hardly ever did anything as it should be done. He was good-natured about everything and shouted and sang and tumbled about so that no one could be angry at his mistakes.

Okaga was wise and industrious and spent his time in doing things for others. If he saw anything he liked he usually copied it and was very friendly to everyone. He was especially fond of his little brother, Yumni, and made toys for him and played games with him. He helped Eya to do things right and sometimes even coaxed Yanpa into a pleasant mood; but he was never able to gain the good will of Yata.

Yumni was small and weak and unable to do any work; but he was always merry and frolicsome, except when he was flying from Yata whom he feared so that he never came out until late in the day when he thought that Yata was gone. He would go to his brother, Okaga, and dance and play about him while he was making things until he thought Yata might come, when he would hurry back to his father's tipi and hide until the next day. When he was with Okaga, he was as happy as the *wasicula* when they dance at night, but when night came he was afraid and hid so that no one could find him.

One time a beautiful being fell from the sky and asked Tate to let her rest in his tipi. Tate was blind, but when he heard her voice he knew that she was a woman, so he told her that there were only men in his tipi and it would be dangerous for her to stay. But as she was very weary, she begged that she might rest a short time. He told her she could stay until his sons returned and then she could do as she pleased. She sat by the door in the tipi and fell asleep.

Soon Yumni came. When he saw the beautiful being he was so amazed that he stood still and gazed at her, for her hair was shining like the light and her dress was ornamented with red and blue and yellow and every color and her face was lovely to look upon. As he stood staring at her, Yata came in behind him and caught hold of him so that he fell down hard and cold. But before he died, Yata saw the beautiful being and he forgot his malice and stood staring at her.

Then Yanpa awoke. He yawned and stretched himself lazily and got up to go for his evening walk but when he saw the beautiful being he stood still staring at her.

Eya came jumping and bounding and shouted to Yata, "Ho Yata, why do you stare so? Is your *sicun* in the tipi? Or is the Winged One there?" He came and peeped in at the door. He too saw the beautiful being and stopped to stare at her.

Then old Tate said, "My sons, what is it? Why do you not speak? Is this a witch I have let into the tipi? I will send her out." He poked the beautiful being with his cane and said to her, "Ho, if you are a witch get out of my tipi. My sons will not speak to me."

She awoke and said, "I am not a witch. I will go." She turned to go and Yanpa stepped forward as if to follow her, when she turned and looked at him and he sat down. She went through the door. Yata stretched out his hand to take hold of her and she turned and looked at him and he sat down. But his hand had touched her dress and some of the ornaments fell from it cold and dead. As she went out of the door, she saw Yumni lying as if dead and she stooped and breathed upon him and he sprang to his feet. She smiled at him and he began to dance and forgot his terror of Yata. Eya started to follow her, but she turned and looked at him and he sat down. She went away and Yumni went with her dancing and frolicking. Thus, the three brothers sat unable to move.

She had not gone far when she met Okaga. She stood at one side of the trail

with her back towards it. When Okaga came by her he asked Yumni who it was and what she was doing there and Yumni told him all. Then Okaga saw that her hair was like the light and he spoke to her. She turned and smiled at Yumni. He danced and whirled about and was very happy so he coaxed his brother Okaga to speak to her. Okaga saw that she was very beautiful and begged her to return to his father's tipi. She said, "Why should I go to your father's tipi? I have been there and your brothers were rude to me. See where one of them touched my dress and the ornaments have withered and fallen." Okaga said, "If you will go back with me, I will make other ornaments more beautiful than those which you have lost."

He pled with her to return and rest for the night. Finally, she yielded and went back. When they came to the tipi, Yata, Yanpa, and Eya still sat on the ground and stared, but she smiled at them and they arose and went away softly, Okaga with them. But Tate and Yumni stayed in the tipi that night. Tate lay opposite the door in the place of honor. The beautiful being lay in the daughter's place and Yumni lay opposite her in the son's place.

Yata, Yanpa, and Eya slept far away from the tipi, but Okaga worked all night and by morning had made a dress more beautiful than that which the beautiful being had worn to the tipi. Early in the morning, the beautiful being rose and prepared food. When the four brothers came in, all sat down to eat and she served them. But Yata, Yumni, and Eya could only stare at her, while Okaga sat with his face bowed down. Yumni danced and frolicked around the tipi; but old Tate ate until he could not swallow another mouthful. Then he rose and leaned on his cane and said, "Ho! Who is this I have let into my tipi? It is not a witch for she has done no harm. Last night my sleep was sound. This morning our food was good and there was plenty of it. Ho, you, whoever you are, I beg you to stay with us." She said to him, "My journey is long, to I know not where. I know not when I will get there. I know not how long I shall stay there. I go until I find greater pleasure than I have here."

He asked her name and she told him that it was Wohpe. He asked her about her people and she said that the sun was her father, the moon her mother, and the stars her people. Again, he begged her to stay with them but she said she must go on and on until she reached her journey's end, that this was not it, for his sons had acted rudely toward her and taken part of the ornaments from her dress. Then Okaga brought the dress he had made and gave it to her. It was more beautiful than her own dress. She gazed at it and then turned to old Tate and said, "My father, my journey is ended."

Then old Tate stood in the door of his tipi and sang a song. He sang these words: —

I am old and blind.  
A daughter is given to me.  
A daughter at my age.  
I shall not be naked.  
I shall not be hungry.  
My sons hear me.  
Let all hear me that have ears.  
Cherish this my daughter.  
Cherish her as your sister.

Then Wohpe sat beside the fireplace and old Tate sat opposite the door. Yumni danced about the lodge without ceasing, and the four brothers each went his way. Yata went, breaking and smashing things. Yanpa walked about pleasantly all day.

Eya went shouting and rollicking, but Okaga went quietly with his head down and sat a long time alone without noticing the antics of Yumni. Thus Wohpe came into the home of the Winds.

THE FEAST BY TATE.

(Told by Little-wound.)

When Wohpe came to stay with Tate he gave a feast to Taku Wakan. He consulted with his sons as to whom he should invite. They first chose the Wakan Tanka. Wi was the first chosen because he was Wakan Tanka. Hanwi, his wife, was the second chosen because she was Wakan Tanka. Wakan-skan was the third chosen because he was Wakan Tanka. Inyan was the fourth because he was Wakan Tanka. These four were chosen because they were Wakan Tanka.

These four, with Tate, were the chiefs of Taku Wakan and formed the council. They made the rules by which all things should be governed. Then others were invited: the Unktehi who are the Wakan of the waters, the Unkhegila who are the Wakan of the lands, the Wakinyan who are the Wakan of the air; the Tunkan who is the Wakan of the rocks, the Tatanka who is the Wakan of the buffalo; the Can Oti who are the Wakan of the forests; the Hohnogica who are the Wakans of the tipis; the Nagi because they are the Wakan of the shadows. These Tate told his sons to invite.

Okaga made the invitation wands. They were twice as long as his foot, meaning, to travel with both feet; decorated with bright colors, meaning a joyous festival; and tipped with a red plume, meaning that Wakan business was to be discussed. The west wind was to deliver them.

Old Tate gave a feast because Wakan Wohpe came to live with him. Wohpe made invitation sticks and ornamented them beautifully. Tate sent them out by his sons. They took the sticks to Iktomi, Ikcegele, Inyan, Wasicun, Wakinyan, Taku Skan-skan, Tunkan, Hoya, and many others.

On the day they met, both the sun and the moon shone. The brothers each brought his own kind of food, which Wohpe prepared. They feasted. Then they held a council in which Tate held the place of honor and told stories. Iktomi asked each for his story. Tate told of his origin. He told of the birth of his sons, of their characteristics, of the coming of the Wohpe, and of his hopes for grandchildren.

Ikcegele told of his origin and his powers. Inyan told of his origin. Wasicunpi told of their origin, their home, their pleasures and powers. Wakinyan told of their origin, their kinds, powers, hates, and likes. Taku Skan-skan told of his origin and powers. Tunkan and Hoya related their origin and powers. Iktomi tricked them and lied.

Then the guests said to Tate, "You have given presents to each of us as we desired. What can we give to you?" He said, "It is because of my daughter, Wohpe, that you have feasted. Give your presents to her." So they asked her what she would have. She sang her reply: —

"The sun is my father.  
The moon is my mother.  
Let no one have power over them.

The sun is all wise.  
The sun is all powerful.  
No one has power over them."

They all agreed that no one would have power over the sun or the moon. But Iktomi played a trick on the Wankinyan and often hid the face of the sun and the moon while Hoya was so greedy that he would bite away a portion of the moon. They then asked Wohpe if she did not want something for herself. She arose and stood by Okaga who folded his robe about her. She said, "I want a tipi for Okaga and myself. A place for him and his brothers."

They made the world and all there is in it for them. Iktomi made the unpleasant things. Old Tate came and dwelt with them, but he left his power at the old tipi. Then they all found that it was good and came to dwell on the earth. Iktomi stirred up strife between the brothers, so they agreed to dwell in different places but each would visit the other.

Yata dwells in the regions of the pines. Eya dwells in the mountains where the sun retires to rest. Yanpa dwells where the great waters are, where the sun begins his daily journey to view the whole world. Okaga and Wohpe have their tipi in the center of the world where the sun is highest and little Yumni lives with them. Each year they come and bring life and warmth, but as soon as they turn their backs, Yata comes bringing cold and death. Then the birds fly to Okaga and beg him to come to their help. When they come to his tipi, they find him and Wohpe so contented and happy, that they return rejoicing, and mate and raise their young.

Tate gives presents to all the guests.

Then they all dance. Yumni dances better than all and is the favorite. But Yata hates him for this. Then the Wasicun dance and Wohpe dances with them and her hair shines in flashes. Since then when the Wasicun dance there are flashes of light (the aurora borealis).

Waziya joins with Yata. Waziya is the Man from the North (the region of the pines). They do many things that are strange in order to amuse the company. Iktomi gives the choice of a color. They choose white. Then Yanpa does things to amuse the company. Iktomi gives him a choice of colors. He chooses blue. Then Eya does things and Iktomi gives him a choice of colors and he chooses yellow. Then Okaga does things so wonderful that the company never tires of watching him. Iktomi gives him a choice of colors and he chooses red. Then Wohpe asks Okaga to do some favor for each one of the guests and he promises to do so. Okaga asked Ikcegila what he most desired and he said he wanted to have power over everything. Okaga asked where he wanted his power. He answered that he wanted this power in his horns and his tail. So he received this power. But Iktomi made his horns very soft and his tail very brittle. His women lived on the earth and his home was in the waters.

Then Okaga asked Inyan what he most desired and he said he wished to be able to resist anything. Okaga made him very hard and very large so that nothing could give him pain; but Iktomi made him very brittle so that he would break into pieces but remain undestroyed. Then the Wasicun were asked what they most desired and they said they wished to be invisible. They were made invisible, but Iktomi deprived them of form or shape so that when they wished to communicate with others they had to steal the form of something else. Then the Wakinyan were asked what they most desired. They said they wished loud voices and bright eyes. Their wishes were granted, but Iktomi made their voices terrible and the glance of their eyes destructive.

Then Takuskanskan was asked what he most desired and he asked to have power over everything moving in order to protect it and do it good. He was given this

power, but Iktomi made him a very sleepy one. Then Tunkan was asked what he most desired and he said he wanted many children, so that he would be revered and cared for. They were promised him, but Iktomi promised that his children should strive among themselves, and forget him save when in trouble. Then Iya was asked what he most desired. He said he wanted to have plenty to eat at all times, so he was promised this, but Iktomi declared that he would always be hungry and his food would give him pain. Other gifts were given to the other guests.

#### HOW THE LAKOTA CAME UPON THE WORLD.

Iktomi tricked the animals and laughed at the misery he caused them, but they were not shamed, so he longed to play his pranks on mankind. At that time the only persons of mankind on the world were the old man, the old woman, and the double-woman. Iktomi feared the old man because he was a wizard and the old woman because she was a witch, but the double-woman feared him because he had caused her much shame and misery. He appeared as a young man before the tipi of the double-woman, but she knew who he was, and went inside and drew the flap over the door.

He sat with his head bowed and his robe drawn over it as if he were grieved or in sorrow. Many times she peeped and saw him sitting thus. In the evening she gathered wood near him, but he did not speak. Then she went to him and asked him why he sat with his head bowed. He told her that he was sorry and ashamed because he had caused her to suffer, and that he wished to do that which would please her. She said that nothing would please her until she could be with her people. He told her that if she would tell him how he could bring her people, he would do so. She told him that if her people tasted meat and saw clothes and tipis made of skins they would covet such things and come where they could get them. He told her that if she would help him he would trick her no more and she agreed. Since that time Iktomi has not played a prank on the double-woman.

He called the wolves and told them that if they would help him he would bother them no more. They agreed to help him and since that time he has never bothered the wolves. Then he told the wolves to make a drive for game and to give to the double-woman as much meat as she wished. They drove and gathered many moose, deer, and bears, and killed them near the tipi of the double-woman. She dried the flesh and tanned the skins, and gathered much meat and many robes and soft tanned skins. She made clothes for a man and for a woman and decked them with colors. Then she made a pack of the clothes and choice bits of the meat. Iktomi gave the pack to a wolf and went with it to the entrance of the cave that opens down through the world. He told it to go and watch the people under the world and when it saw a strong and brave young man to speak with him alone, and to give him the pack and tell him that there were plenty of such things in the world. It went through the cave and saw the camp of the people far away. Before it came to the camp it met a strong young man. The young man asked who it was, whence it came, and what it wanted. The wolf replied that it was a friend of the people and came from the world to give them that which they most desired. It asked the young man his name and what he most wished. He said his name was Tokahé and told him that the pack would cause him to become a leader. He told him to take it and show it to the people and let them taste the food and see the clothing that was in it and to tell them

that there were plenty of such things in the world, but he said it must not tell how he got the things and must say nothing of the wolf.

Tokahe showed the meat to the people. They ate of it and said it was good. He and his woman wore the clothes and all the people envied them. He told the people there were plenty of such things in the world. They asked him how they could get things like these, but he could not tell them. Then an old man suggested that three men go with Tokahe to see these things, so that the people would know that Tokahe told the truth.

Tokahe chose three strong and brave young men and when the moon was round they met the wolf. It led them through the cave and when they were on the world, it led them to the lake where the double-woman had her tipi. Iktomi and the double-woman saw them coming, and while she prepared a feast of meat and soup he invited them to the feast. She served them with choice bits of meat and plenty of good soup. She covered her other face with her robe and appeared to them as a beautiful woman. Iktomi appeared as a handsome young man, and he told them that both he and the woman were very old, but because they ate meat they remained young. Iktomi had told the wolves to drive the game so the young men saw many moose, deer, and bears. When the young men went back to their people Iktomi gave them presents of meat, robes, and soft tanned skins. He went with them to the entrance of the cave and there he told the wolf to guide them back to their people. When it returned he told it to wait and guide others who wished to come to the world, and when they had passed through the cave to lead them far from food and water.

Tokahe and his friends showed their presents to the people and told them that they had been to the world and had seen plenty of game; that the people on the world ate meat and appeared as young men and beautiful women even when they were very old. An old woman warned the people that these things were done by a wizard, and they wrangled, for some wished to follow Tokahe and some said he was a wizard. Tokahe said he would lead those who wanted to go with him where they could get these things. Then the chief warned the people that they who passed through the cave could never again find the entrance and must remain on the world; that the winds blew on the world and were cold; that game must be hunted and skins tanned and sewed to make clothes and tipis. Six brave men chose to go with Tokahe. They took their women and children and went from camp. The wolf met them and guided them through the cave, all day. At night they came to a strange place and the children cried for food and drink. Then Iktomi appeared and laughed at their misery and Tokahe was shamed. The double-woman appeared to comfort them, but they saw her horrid face, and fled from her in terror.

In the morning the people did not know where to go. They were hungry and thirsty. Then the old man and the old woman appeared and they gave them food and drink. The old man led the people so they traveled swiftly and came to the region of the pines. Then he and the old woman showed them how to hunt the game and how to care for the meat and the skins, and how to make clothing and tipis. Thus Tokahe and his friends were the first people on the world and their children are the Lakota.

THE BUFFALO WOMAN.<sup>1</sup>

(Told by Hoka-chatka.)

Long ago, a man took a woman to live with him. She bore him two daughters, then a son, and then two more daughters. They cared for these children until they grew up. When the boy was grown, he hunted and provided the family with everything, so the woman said it was just as she wished, for her man could then remain quietly at home and the young man would provide everything they needed.

One day, the boy went hunting to the west and did not come back. They thought he was lost and searched for him, but could not find him. After a time, they saw two persons coming, and they went to the top of a hill to see who they were. When they came close it was seen that one was the son they thought was lost and the other was a woman, so they knew that he was bringing a woman home to be his wife. They all went to meet them and make them welcome. The two oldest girls told the two youngest to go back for this woman was to be their sister. So the youngest went back, but felt bad because this woman was not their sister also.

This woman was beautiful and had long black hair. The brother saw that the younger sisters grieved because they had no sister-in-law to love, so he went east, and after he had been gone some days they saw him coming back with another woman. Again, they all went out to welcome him, but the younger sisters told the older to go back, for this woman was to be their sister. The older sisters went back, and the younger sisters welcomed her. She was beautiful and had long yellow hair.

Each of these two women gave birth to a son at about the same time. The woman with the black hair went over a hill. The man's father watched her and went to the top of the hill and saw her lying in a buffalo wallow. She was like a buffalo and gave birth to a buffalo calf. So he went back and told his son, but the son said nothing. Soon the woman came back carrying a little boy. Then the yellow-haired woman went out. The old man watched her and saw her go to the rushes and high grass. One rush was very large and there was a little rush by it. Then a whirlwind blew the rushes down and he saw a woman arranging her dress so he knew that she was a rush woman and had given birth to a rush baby. He came back and told his son, but he said nothing. The woman came back carrying a baby boy. The sisters kept these two little boys and cared for them so that they were strong and healthy.

When these two boys grew old enough to play, the old man went to the timber and got five green ash withes. He heated them in the fire and peeled them and bent them so that they formed hoops. He then told his wife to give him the skin from the belly of a buffalo which he cut into long strips and wove on the hoops so as to make a web. He then got four long willow withes and trimmed them so that they were like spears.

He then taught his grandchildren how to roll the web hoops on the ground and to throw the spears so as to go through the webs and he made rules for the game. This was the origin of the web-hoop game. He did this to keep the boys from going away and had them play the game every day so that they became expert at it.

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<sup>1</sup> This tale has many points in common with a Cegiha narrative. See J. O. Dorsey, *The Cegiha Language* (*Contributions to American Ethnology*, vol. 8, Washington, 1890), 157.

One day, the yellow-haired boy threw the hoop and knocked the black-haired boy down. This did not hurt him, but he cried and went to his mother about it. She became surly and sat with her robe over her head and would speak to no one. The yellow-haired woman tried to pacify her and told her that all children were alike and had accidents like this. Then the black-haired woman said that the boy was not a human child but a rush boy and that he had knocked her boy down for spite. Then the yellow-haired woman replied that the black-haired boy was not a human child but that he was a buffalo with wide nostrils. Then the black-haired woman took her boy and started west. The old man went on a hill to watch her. He saw a buffalo cow running very fast with a buffalo calf beside her. He returned and told his family that the woman was a buffalo and had run away so fast that she could not be overtaken.

The father said that he would go after them. So he put on his leggings and moccasins and quiver and was ready to go when his yellow-haired wife told him to go with her to the timber. When they got to the timber, she cut four cherry bushes and trimmed them so that they were slender and straight. She then told him to ask his father for the crow quills and sinews and white paint he had. He did so and his father gave them to him. She then made arrows of the cherry wood and fastened the web from the crow quills to the arrows with the sinews, and painted them white with the paint and gave them to her husband and told him that whatever he shot with the arrows, they would kill.

She then gave him an eagle plume and fastened it on his head and told him to call her when he was in trouble, and she would help him. She then told him to shoot one of the white arrows in the direction his black-haired woman went and to follow the arrow. He shot one of the white arrows, and it floated in the air so that he could follow it. He followed it all day, traveling very fast. In the evening, the arrow fell and stuck on the bank of a creek. When he came up to it he saw a tipi on the other side and his boy by the tipi.

He went to the tipi. The boy said he had told his mother that his father was coming and she had said that no human being could travel so fast all day without killing himself and that she would dry up all the water on the way, the next day, so that he would die if he attempted to follow her. But when her man came, she spoke to him pleasantly and gave him food to eat and said he must be very tired and had better lie down and sleep. Before he went to sleep, the boy told him to watch his track.

He went to sleep in the tipi and when he awoke the next morning he was lying with only his own clothing and his bow and arrows and there was no tipi to be seen. He said "o-o-woof" like a bear. He looked about to see where there had been dew during the night and he saw which way his woman and the boy had gone. He shot a white arrow in that direction and followed it. It was a hot day and all the water dried up, so that at midday he was about to perish from thirst. Then he remembered that his boy had told him to watch his track. He looked for it and in the bottom of a dry creek he saw a deep track which he found almost full of water.

He thought he would drink all this water but the water came into it as fast as he drank it. He wet his face and hands and drank until he was no longer thirsty. He then ran after the white arrow all the rest of the day. In the evening the arrow stuck on the bank of a creek where there was plenty of water. When he came to the arrow he saw a tipi on the other side of the creek. His boy came out to meet him and told him that his mother had said that no human being could run as fast and as long as

he had done and not kill himself, that she had expected him to die that day, that she would make the streams all so muddy the next day that one could not cross them. He said to the boy, "My son, I do not care when or how I die, for it is for you."

When he came to the tipi, the woman spoke to him very pleasantly and gave him food and said he must be very tired and advised him to lie down and sleep. So he lay down and went to sleep. Then the woman lay down beside him and went to sleep. He tied his rawhide belt through her belt and wrapped her long black hair around his arm and tied it there and then went to sleep.

He awoke next morning and found himself lying out with nothing near him but his bow and arrows and no tipi to be seen. He said, "O-O-woof," like an angry bear and looked about him. The dew showed which way the woman and the boy had gone and he shot a white arrow that way and followed. After a time, he came to a river full of mud. He faced towards the east and said, "Oh my yellow-haired woman. You told me to call on you if I were in trouble. I now ask you to help me."

Then a whirlwind came and lifted him by the eagle plume and carried him across the river of mud. When he was crossing, he saw a buffalo cow and calf in the mud and he sat on the bank of the river to see if they got across. When they got across, they began to roll in the sand to get the mud off and the calf saw him and said to the cow, "Here is my father."

When the cow and the calf were again transformed, the woman put a robe over her head, for she was ashamed, but the boy came to his father and told him that the woman had said he would follow them into the mud and die there. Then the boy told his father that they were nearly at the place that his mother had started for, and that he should follow them; that his mother had three sisters that were exactly like her so that no one could tell the one from the other; that his mother's mother was a very wicked old woman and would try to find some excuse for killing him; that when they got to his grandmother's place she would send the four sisters to come to her tipi with him, and if he should come with one that was not his woman, the old woman would kill him; and that he would come out of the tipi and play about when his mother was sent to bring him in. The boy said that if he came to the tipi, the old woman would tell him to lay his bow and arrows on his woman's things and if he should lay them on the things of one of the women who was not his, the old woman would kill him; and that he would play with his mother's things so that he would know which were hers. Then he said the old woman would tell him to sit with his woman and he would stick a straw in the hair of his mother so that he might know which was she, for if he sat with one who was not his woman the old woman would kill him.

That night they slept together. The next morning the boy and his mother went ahead and the man followed a long distance behind. He came to the top of a hill and saw a valley with a great camp in it and all the people were buffaloes. In the center of the camp was a lodge with four flap doors. He saw his woman go in at one of these doors. So he sat on the hill to watch and an ugly old woman came out of the lodge with a woman who looked like his woman. The old woman was scolding the other, and told her to go and bring her man to the lodge and give him something to eat. So the woman came to him and told him her mother was cross because she had not brought him to the tipi and asked him to come with her and get something to eat. He did not see his boy playing so he told the woman to go back and he would come.

She went back. The old woman came out again with a woman that looked

like his wife and said to her, "Don't be bashful but bring him with you and give him something to eat." The woman came to him and said her mother was angry because he had not gone to the lodge with her and she begged him to go with her and get something to eat. But he did not see his boy playing, so he told her to go back and he would come. She went back and the old woman came out again with a woman that looked like his wife and she scolded her and said, "You are too bashful; you must get used to having him here with you. He is human and must be very hungry. Go and get him and bring him to the lodge and get him something to eat."

So the woman came to him and said, "My mother wants you to come with me to the lodge so that I may give you something to eat. But he did not see his boy playing and he told her to go back and he would come later. Then the old woman came out of the lodge with a woman that looked like his wife and said to her, "You are too bashful, go and bring your man to the lodge and give him something to eat." The boy came out and began to play about. The woman came to him and said, "My mother is angry because you will not come with me to the lodge." He said to her, "I will go with you." He went to the lodge.

When he came to the lodge, the old woman spoke pleasantly to him and told him to go into the lodge. He saw that the lodge was of stone and the door flaps were heavy stones. As he was going in, the old woman slammed the flap to catch him and crush him to death, but his plume lifted him to the center of the lodge so that he was not hurt. The old woman said the wind had blown the flap from her hands and told him to lay his bow and arrows on his woman's things. He saw the boy playing with things and he laid his bow and arrows on them. Then the old woman told him to sit down by his woman and he saw a straw in the hair of a woman and sat down by her. Then the old woman told him that he must be more than human, for she could not tell one of her daughters from the other, but he knew which was his woman.

The next morning, at the break of day, the old woman was raging and scolding her daughters and told them to get up and get food for the man. When they were up she said she would go to the tipi of the Cow Woman and get her food. After a while, she returned in a rage and said she had gone to the tipi of a bad woman to get cherry wood to make pins to pin a tipi together and she had given her this, and she threw a crooked and broken cherry bush down in the lodge and went out.

The man asked his woman where he could find cherry bushes and she told him that plenty of good cherry bushes grew in a canyon near by, but that they were hard to get. He asked her how to find them and she told him. He went for them. When he got there he saw bones of men and animals lying all about, and when he looked at the bushes he saw that they were spotted and striped like snakes and that a rattlesnake was coiled around each bush. All the snakes crawled towards him hissing and rattling and ready to bite him. He took the plume from his head and fastened it to his bow and waved it towards the snakes and they were all killed. He then cut ten of the finest of the bushes, and took them to the lodge and gave them to the old woman. They were all surprised to see him again for they thought the snakes would surely kill him.

Then the old woman was afraid and told him to take the bushes out of the lodge because they would cause her death if they were kept there. He took them out of the lodge and told his boy to choose four of the best of them. When he did so he made four arrows and gave them to his boy and told him to hang them in the lodge, which he did. At daybreak, the next morning, the old woman was raging and

scolding her daughters and told them to get up and get food for the man while she went to the tipi of the Cow Woman.

After a time, she came to the lodge with a young bird just hatched. It had no feathers on it and its stomach was large and ugly. She threw it down in the lodge and said that the Cow Woman had pretty little birds which her daughter's man had brought to her but she could only get an ugly young bird like that.

Then the man asked his woman where he could get birds and she told him that beyond the big bend of the river, there were plenty of pretty birds but that they were hard to get and she told him how to find the place. He went to the place and found some very tall trees with large branches very high, and on these branches were nests made of elkhorns and bones. All about the trees were bones of men and beasts that were piled high under the trees. He saw that he could not climb the trees, so he turned towards his rush-wife and called on her. A whirlwind took hold of the plume and lifted him into the trees, beside the nests.

In the nests he saw four large birds, fully plumaged, which he killed with the white arrows and threw down to the ground. Then the whirlwind lifted him by the plume and placed him on the ground. When he got to the ground, he saw a small cloud coming up very fast. It grew and came quickly so that it covered the sky and made it dark and the lightning flashed and thunder sounded so that it shook the earth. Then the wind blew hard and large hailstones fell and he got under one of the nests for shelter. Then he heard a voice which said, "You are hiding under the love of children. Come out of this shelter or you will be killed." But he stayed under the shelter and was not killed. Then the storm passed and the plume took him to the ground. When he got to the ground, the hail was very deep and piled in great drifts. The wind and hail had destroyed the trees and brush and many tipis at the camp of the buffalo.

He started for the camp with the dead birds and found that the hail had destroyed many things. When he came to the lodge he threw the birds down before the old woman, who was very much surprised for she and her daughters had sent him to the nests of the Thunderbirds and they thought these birds would kill him. The old woman screamed to him to take the birds out of the lodge, for they would bring disaster on one having them. The daughters took the birds and threw them away, but the father told his son to get feathers from them. When he did so the father placed the web from these feathers on the arrows he had made from the mysterious cherry bushes and gave them to the boy and told him to hang them in the lodge.

At the break of day, the next morning, the old woman was raging and scolding her daughters and bade them get up and get food while she went to the tipi of the Cow Woman. She came back and told the man that the buffaloes had a feast that day and all would be present and that they had invited him and he must be present, that the association for the love of children had a session that day and he must be present and take part in the ceremonies, that the buffaloes would dance in a circle and stamp out all the grass in the circle and perhaps the world would come to an end.

The boy told his father that the old woman would ask him to lead out her grandchild to take part in the ceremonies of the love of children, that all the calves would look alike, but the grandchild would shake its left ear and he would know it by this sign. He went and the animals danced in a circle and made a great dust which rose in a great cloud from the center of the circle as if a whirlwind were carrying it to the skies. The old woman told him that such circles would always be found.

Where the buffaloes danced they made a circle and afterwards the grass grew green and high in this circle. Such places may be seen to this day and where the grass grows different from that about it and in a circle, the Indians say that is where the buffaloes danced.

During the ceremonies, the old woman told the man to go and bring her grandchild to her. The man saw a calf shake its left ear and he brought it to the old woman. The old woman was surprised and told him that he must be more than human. She had sent her daughters to him who looked so much alike that she could not tell them apart and he knew which was his wife, that he had taken the mysterious cherry bushes, which no one had ever done before, and he had gone to the nests of the Thunderbirds and robbed them when always before when one approached them they were killed, and he had done everything she had asked of him.

He replied that she had been trying to find an excuse for killing him, and had tried to have him killed in every way she could devise, but he had outwitted her every time.

At break of day the next morning the old woman was raging and scolding her daughters and bade them get up and get food while she went to the tipi of the Cow Woman. After a while, she came back and told the men that the buffaloes were to play the elk game and asked him to dress up well. So he went to the game and while he was there, the old woman went to a tipi where a mysterious buffalo lived, and told him that the man was making love to his youngest wife. She taunted him and told him that he was afraid of the man and provoked him to a great rage.

The mysterious buffalo started for the place where the game was being played; he bellowed loud and long and threw up clouds of dust and dirt so that all the buffaloes were afraid and ran away but the man did not run. The old woman asked the man to protect them. Then the mysterious buffalo charged upon the man and just as he was about to toss the man with his horns, the plume lifted the man out of danger. He shot a white arrow which went through the mysterious buffalo's body from side to side. The buffalo charged him again and the plume lifted him above all danger. He shot another white arrow which went through the buffalo's body from end to end. The buffalo charged him again and the plume lifted him out of danger. He shot the buffalo with another white arrow which went through the body from side to side. Then the buffalo was weak and staggering and the old woman cried out that the man would kill the buffalo, and called the other buffaloes to help the mysterious buffalo, but they would not. Then the buffalo charged the man again. He was lifted out of danger by the plume and shot the buffalo with a fourth white arrow which went through the body from end to end and the buffalo fell down and died.

Then the boy said to the man, "You have killed my grandfather and I will kill my grandmother." So he took the four arrows which his father had made from the mysterious cherry wood and feathered with the feathers of the Thunderbirds and shot them into his grandmother. The old woman fell down and died.

The buffaloes were standing about on the hills and saw all this, and they were afraid to come into the valley for fear the men would kill them also but he told his sons to tell them to come back that he would do them no harm and that he only wanted to kill the mysterious buffalo. So they all came back and formed a circle and put the wisest in the center, to speak for them. This wise buffalo said to the man, "We are pleased with what you have done today, for the mysterious buffalo and the old woman who was his woman have always made much trouble for us and

we are glad to get rid of them." They were glad that they were killed. He said that though the man was human and his wife half human and half buffalo, if he would stay with them always they would have him for chief and give him as many women as he wanted, that he was brought up in the east where they had not much meat, but if he would stay with them they would travel east and give to his people all the meat they wanted. He said they would give their flesh for the benefit of the people and they would teach his people the elk game and institute among them the association for the love of children.

He chose four old buffaloes, like four old men, with canes, who had a large progeny. They agreed to take their progeny east for the benefit of the people. (This was the coming of the buffalo). He said, "These four will travel the trails for the water that is red (chokecherries mixed with water), for the pipe, for the eagle plume, and for the red tanned skins for clothing. (The origin of the buffalo ceremony.) Men will do this in the future to commemorate what you have done. These old buffalo were to travel in the early morning in the mist of their breath. At each creek where they camped for the night, the cows would drop milk where they nourished their calves and this would be nourishment for children. The man said, "How," and all the buffalo people said, "How."

They told him he must throw away his woman, who was the daughter of the mysterious buffalo and the old woman, and they would give him all the wives he wanted. He did so. This is why the buffalo have many wives. So he drove the daughters of the old women away. When he chose a wife it was a young cow that had just come to puberty, they performed a ceremony over her to let him know that she could be his wife (this was the origin of the buffalo ceremony).

At this time the man's Rush wife went and sat on a hill and would speak to no one. His sisters, one by one, beginning with the oldest, went to her and asked her to come to the tipi, and eat and rest, but she would not answer them. Then his mother went to her but she would not notice her. Then his father went to her and coaxed her to come to the tipi to rest and eat. She told him to return to the tipi and when he had done so she would come. When the two younger sisters saw him coming, they ran out and helped her along and brought her into the tipi where all ministered to her until she was strong again, for they all loved her.

When she was strong she told them the story of her man and how he had found her among the rushes and made her his woman, how he had gone in search of his other woman, of the trials and dangers he had passed through, and of the help she had given them, and that now he had abandoned them and was living with the buffalo, but that he did this for the love of little children so that they might have plenty of meat to eat, that he belonged to them and to her but they would give him up as one dead so that all might have plenty of meat. Then they all wept and mourned for one moon. Then she bade them to quit mourning and listen to her. "Our man that provided for us is gone and we will see him no more. We must make other arrangements to live, we must move to the Big Bend (of the Missouri River) and we will live there."

When they moved to the big bend she told each of the sisters to dig up the ground and they did so. She gave them strange seed and told them to put it in the ground and they did so. The strange seed that she gave the sisters sprouted like grass but was larger, and when it was grown it had a branch of leaves (*Wah uw apa*). (This was the origin of corn.) The strange seed she gave to the father and mother sprouted like the hop vines but was larger and had yellow flowers. The fruit was a bladder,

but thicker, and with many such seeds inside it. (This was the origin of the pumpkin.)

When these were ripened, she showed them how to prepare and cook them so that they were good food. She showed the old man how to dig a cave and put the corn in it so as to save it for the winter time, and taught them how to cache their crops. When they were well provided for young men came and married the sisters, and the Rush woman's boy married a young woman, and from these a new band of people originated.

#### THE DEATH OF IYA.

(Told by Hoka-chatka.)

Many people were camped on a creek for a feast. On one side of the camp was a large red lodge and on the other, a large yellow lodge. One day, a man came running and told them that Iya was lying asleep not far away up the creek. The people were much excited. Some ran about and others gathered in the center of the camp and all were badly scared.

Iktomi appeared wearing his coonskin robe and inquired why they were so much excited. They told him that Iya lay asleep not far away. Iktomi said he would go and find him and trick him, but some of the people told him not to go lest Iya eat him. But others told him to go, for they hoped that Iya would eat Iktomi and they would get rid of him in this way. So he went up the creek and gathered a great lot of clam shells. He went on and found Iya asleep. When Iya breathed he inhaled dirt and dust and everything that was movable near him. While Iktomi looked at him, Iya awoke and saw him and said, "Ho, my younger brother, I am hungry and my meal will be small this time." Iktomi said, "Ho, my younger brother, I am hungry and my meal will be small, for I am so hungry that I could eat ten like you."

Then Iya opened his mouth to yawn and Iktomi saw many people moving about in his stomach and he said, "When I eat people they do not play in my stomach. That would disturb me. You swallow people and they are amused and play about in your stomach." Iya said, "I will eat you and see if you will play in my stomach." Iktomi said, "Why eat me when I am so small? I will show you a large number of people and we will both have a good meal."

Iya agreed to this, but Iktomi said, "Why do you call me 'younger brother'?" Iya said, "Because I am older than you." Iktomi said, "Let us tell when each was born and then we can tell which is the younger brother." Iya agreed. Iktomi said, "You tell me when you were born and then I will tell when I was born," Iya agreed. Iya said, "When the earth was made that was the first. When the sky was made that was the second. Then I was made the third." Iktomi said, "I first made the earth and then I made the sky. Then I was tired and wanted to make some little foolish thing, so I made you. I did not intend to make you so foolish, for you have been crazy ever since I made you."

Then Iya opened his mouth to eat Iktomi, but Iktomi threw clamshells down his throat making Iya cough. While he was coughing Iktomi said, "I found this big camp of the people near here. There were so many that I could not eat them, so I was looking for someone to help me. You had better come with me and have a good meal, for if you should eat me you could never find these people."

So they started together, but every time Iya drew in his breath he almost drew Iktomi into his stomach, so Iktomi said, "You walk a little way behind and I will go and see if the people are still there." As they went on, they began to argue about who was the older again and Iktomi said, "If you are the older you can follow me," and Iya agreed to that. Then Iktomi said, "Then follow me." He went to the water and walked on it, but when Iya came to the water he sank and could not follow Iktomi.

So Iktomi said, "Ho, my younger brother, you must obey me, for I am the older." Iya agreed. Then Iktomi said, "Let us tell each other the things we most fear, and what will kill us and what will destroy us." Iya agreed. Iktomi said, "I am the older and you must tell me first." So Iya told him that he was most afraid of drums, flutes, and medicine rattles; that when he heard these he was paralyzed, so that if anyone struck his head at that time it would crush his skull and kill him, and that if he were placed on a fire he would burn and be destroyed. Then Iktomi told Iya that he was afraid of the same things and could be killed and destroyed in the same way.

They had come to a wood and Iktomi said to Iya, "Wait here and I will go and spy on the people. When I come back we will go together and eat them. Iya waited in the wood and Iktomi went to the people and told them to get drums and fifes, medicine rattles, warclubs and stone hatchets, and hide themselves in a gap in the hills. He told them that when he brought Iya through the gap they should beat the drums, blow the flutes, and sound the rattles and when Iya fell, to rush up and strike his skull with the clubs and stone hatchets and they would kill him. The people did as Iktomi told them. He went to Iya and reported that the people were all in their tipis. Iya began to run to the camp and as he passed him, Iktomi struck him with a stone knife, but this did not injure Iya. Iktomi was afraid that Iya had fooled him and that he could not be killed, so he called to him, "Hold on my younger brother, I am the older and I should eat first." Iya said, "You are fooling me. There are no people. You only want to get away from me." Iktomi said, "Come with me and I will show you the camp."

He took him to the gap in the hills and showed him the camp, but Iya said he did not see any people. Iktomi said they were in the tipis, but to make sure that they were there he would go and look, and when he found anyone in a tipi, he would wave his coonskin robe. So Iya stayed in the gap and Iktomi went to the camp. He looked in the first tipi and waved his robe. Then he went to the next, looked in, and waved his robe. He went to every tipi, looked in, and waved his robe. When he looked in the last tipi he was far away from Iya, for he was afraid that the people would not kill him, and he wanted to be as far as possible from him so that if he were not killed he could escape from him.

When he waved his robe at the last tipi, Iya came running through the gap in the hills. When he came near the people hidden there, they beat the drums, and blew the flutes and sounded the medicine rattles and Iya fell down, paralyzed. Then the people ran to him and struck his skull with clubs and stone hatchets and crushed it and killed Iya. When Iktomi saw that Iya was killed he came to the people and told them to put the body on a fire. They did so and the body burned like pitch pine. In this way, Iya was killed and destroyed and he has not troubled the people since that time.

## IKTOMI AND THE YOUNG MAN.

There was a young man who had many horses and plenty of adornments. He had four sisters who made many ornaments of quillwork, painted robes for him, and made plenty of clothing so that he was always well-dressed and finely painted and had plenty of everything.

A great chief had a young and beautiful daughter. She was industrious and could make beautiful quillwork and paint robes, and she could tan skins and make good clothing. This chief sent word to this young man that he would give him his daughter for a wife. The young man dressed in his finest clothing, putting on quilled moccasins and quilled leggings and beaded breech cloth. He took with him a fine pipe and a beaded tobacco sack. He wrapped about him a fine buffalo robe of a young cow taken when the hair was the best which his sisters had tanned, soft and white, and upon which his adopted mother had painted her dream. He took with him a love medicine that was made by the oldest Shaman among all the people and a flute upon which he had learned to play love songs.

When he started for the chief's house, his oldest sister said to him, "Watch for Iktomi. Do not let him fool you." The young man replied, "I am too wise, Iktomi can't fool me. He went on his way, thinking about the beautiful young girl he was to have for his wife. When he came to a spring of water he sat down in the shade and played a love song on his flute. While he was playing, another young man appeared before him, but he was very poor and had only the poorest kind of clothing. All he had was a breech cloth and an old ragged robe, but he was good looking and strong. He said to the young man, "You play a love song very well. If you should play that way to a young woman she would take you for her man."

This pleased the young man, for he thought that he would play that way for the chief's daughter. He lighted his pipe and gave the other young man a smoke. Then the other young man said, "I would like to hear you play again." So he played another song and the second young man said, "Oh that is more pleasing than the other; no young woman could hear you play that and resist you." This pleased the young man so that he said, "I will teach you to play that way so that you may also get a woman."

He taught the other young man to play like he did. Then the other young man said, "I think you are very strong. Let us wrestle to see who is the stronger." They wrestled and the young man threw the second young man. Then the poor young man said, "I think you are a great hunter, let us shoot the arrow and see who can make the best shot." They shot arrows at a target and the young man made the best shot.

Then the other young man said, "Let us run a race and see who can run the faster." They ran a hundred paces and the young man won the race. Then the other young man said, "Let us run around this spring and know who can run the greatest distance. But the young man said, "No, let us run to that high hill, a long way off and back." The other young man agreed to this. The young man stripped himself of all his clothing except his breech cloth. He piled all his fine clothing, his pipe, his robe, and the flute near the spring. The other young man said, "Let us hide our clothing, someone may come and take everything while we are running." They hid their clothing, the young man putting his clothing in a pile and other young man putting his robe at another place. The way they had to run was very hilly and the other young man said, "I run very slow down a hill but I run very fast

up a hill." The young man said, "I run very fast down a hill, but I cannot run so fast up a hill." Then the other young man said, "You had better run as fast as you can down the hills, because I will run by you up the hills, if you don't."

They started from the spring up a hill. The other young man ran as fast as he could up the hill and reached the top first; but when they ran down hill, the other young man ran very slowly and the young man ran as fast as he could and passed him very quickly so that he was at the top of the next hill before the other young man was at the bottom of the first hill.

Then the young man looked back at the other young man and laughed and cried out to him, "I will beat you badly for I will be at the top of the next hill before you will come in sight on top of this hill." Then the other young man said, "Yes that is so. Do not wait for me." So the young man ran on easily for he knew he could beat the other young man. Before the other young man got to the bottom of the first hill, he turned round and ran quickly back to the spring and took all the young man's clothing, his robe, the pipe and the elk teeth and the flute and ran on the trail to the chief's tipi.

When the young man got to the high hill he sat down to rest, for he thought he could beat the other young man easily now. He waited, but the other young man did not come. Then he thought he was lost so he went slowly back over the way he had run to look for him. When he got to the spring he looked about but did not find him, so he said, "I will put on my clothing and take my things and then I will hunt for him."

But when he went for his things he found them all gone. Then he knew that the other young man was Iktomi. He started to run as fast as he could on the trail to the chief's tipi. But he had run so much that he was tired, and could not run very fast. It was very late at night when he got to the chief's tipi. He found that Iktomi had gotten there very early in the day and had given the chief a smoke of *cansasa* so that the chief was pleased. Iktomi had given the chief's daughter all the elk teeth so that she was pleased. He had played to her on the flute the love songs he had taught him so that she could not resist him and she had taken Iktomi for her man.

When the young man came dressed in his breech cloth and the old ragged robe that Iktomi had left, they would not believe him when he said he was the young man to whom the chief had promised his daughter. They let him eat at the feast and then told him to go away. He went home and told his sisters. His oldest sister said, "I told you to watch for Iktomi."

#### THE STONE BOY.<sup>1</sup>

(A Dakota myth, told by Naopi-sica.)

The Four Brothers lived together without any woman, so they did the woman's work. One time as the oldest was gathering wood, after nightfall, something ran into his big toe. This pained him but little and he soon forgot it, but his toe began to swell and was soon as big as his head. Then he cut it open and found something

<sup>1</sup> Two other versions of this tale have been published for the Dakota: see, Clark Wissler, *Some Dakota Myths* (*Journal of American Folk-Lore*, vol. 20) 199; and Marie L. McLaughlin, *Myths and Legends of the Sioux*, 179-197, Bismarck, N. D., 1916. However, these are widely divergent in all but their titles.

in it. He did not know what it was, but his brothers washed it and found that it was a little girl baby.

The Four Brothers kept the baby and gave it good food and fine clothes so that it grew to be a beautiful young woman. She could do a woman's work well and quickly and never allowed anyone to leave their tipi cold or hungry. She could dress skins so that they were white and soft and from them make good clothing, upon which she put beautiful ornaments and each ornament meant something.

Many young men tried to induce her to live with them, but she would not leave the Four Brothers. They told her that they would always keep her as their sister and they did everything to please her. The oldest Brother said, "I will go and hunt deer so that our sister may have the skins to make clothing for herself." He went away and did not return. Then the next oldest Brother said, "I will go and hunt buffalo so that our sister may have the skins to make robes for herself." He went away and did not return. Then the next youngest brother said, "I will go and hunt elk so that our sister may have meat for herself." He too went away and did not return. Then the youngest brother said, "Sister, our Brothers have gone away and have not returned. I will go and find them." So he went away and did not return.

When the youngest Brother had been gone one moon, the young woman went to the top of a high hill to mourn, and to seek a vision. While she was mourning she saw a pebble which she looked at for a long time, for it was very smooth and white and then she put it in her mouth to keep from being thirsty. She fell asleep with the pebble in her mouth and swallowed it. While she slept the vision came to her in the form of the great beast, which told her that the Four Brothers were kept by a stone and that a stone would find them and bring them back to her.

She told this vision to a Shaman and asked him to tell her what it meant. The shaman told her to marry and name her son The Stone. But she would not live with any man for she remembered how good and kind the Four Brothers were, and she wished to live for them only.

Soon she grew big with child and gave birth to a boy baby. The flesh of this baby was as hard as stone and she knew that it was mysterious (*Wakan*) and came from the pebble she had swallowed. She went far away and lived alone with her son. She taught him all the games and songs and all about roots and plants and animals and birds, so that he was cunning and wise. She gave him fine clothes and good food so that he grew up strong and brave though his flesh was as hard as stone. She would not allow him to hunt or join a war party for she was afraid he would go away and never return like the Four Brothers.

Each moon she went to the top of a hill to mourn. When her son had grown to be a man he asked her why she went to mourn each moon and she said to him, "My son, you are now a man, and I will tell you why I mourn." So she told him the story of the Four Brothers, of her coming to them, of how they went away and did not return, of his own birth, and the vision of the great beast.

Then she sang this song to him: —

I am a mysterious woman.  
I am like other women.  
You are a mysterious man.  
Your flesh is like a stone.  
You are the Stone Boy.  
You are stone the great beast told of.

Then he sang to her: —

I am the Stone Boy.  
I am the stone that will aid you.  
I will bring back your brothers.  
My mother I will make you happy.

He then said to her: "Mother, I will go to find your brothers. I will bring them to you." She said, "I am afraid you too will go away and never come back." He said to her, "What did the great beast tell you? I am the stone." She said, "Go my son, but you must first be prepared with magic."

She made a great feast and invited a wise Shaman, a wise old woman, a great brave, a great hunter, and four maidens as the chief guests, and all the people as common guests. She placed the people as they belonged according to the bands with her son among the chief guests. When all were satisfied with eating she stood before the people and told the story of the Four Brothers; of her coming to them, of their going, of her vision, and of the birth and life of her son. She then told them to examine her son that they might know that he was mysterious (*Wakan*). The people all examined the young man and when they found that his flesh was hard like stone they said he was indeed mysterious and that he was the Stone Boy. She then told them that her son was to go in quest of the Four Brothers and she had prepared this feast that the people might have a good heart towards him and she had invited the chief guests so that they would help her to prepare her son with magic for his quest.

The chief guests agreed to do what she should ask of them. The Shaman gave the Stone Boy a charm (*Pajula-wakan-rea*) that would keep all harm from him. The old woman gave him a robe on which she had painted a dream which made the robe magical and made anyone who wore it invisible. The warrior gave him a magical spear that would pierce anything, a magical shield that would ward off anything, and a magical club that would break anything. The hunter showed him how to find anything he wanted. His mother made his clothes of good deerskins and the young women put ornaments on them. While ornamenting his clothing, they sang love songs and the Shaman conjured the ornaments, (*Ca hina wakan kaga*) so that they were magical. On the sides of his moccasins they put mountains so that he could step from hill to hill without touching the valleys; on the tops they put dragon flies so that he could escape all danger; on his leggings they put wolf tracks so that he would never grow weary; on his shirt they put the tipi circle so that he would find shelter everywhere.

He stood before the people, clothed in his magical garments, his shield on his back and his spear and club in his hands. His face was towards the rising sun. Before him was his mother, on one side the Shaman, warrior, and hunter, and on the other, the old woman and the four young women. He said to his mother, "I will bring the Four Brothers back to you." To the young women, "When I return I will take you four as my women." To the men, "What you have taught me I will use to release the Four Brothers." Then turning his face towards the setting sun he said to the old woman, "I go."

Then the old woman threw the robe about him and he was seen no more, but there was a wind as if the thunderbird flew towards the setting sun. His mother fell on her face as one dead, but the people heard a voice high in the air, clear and loud like the voices of the cranes when they fly towards the region of the pines, and this is what it said, "A stone shall free the Four Brothers."

When the Stone Boy went from the people he stepped from hill to hill more swiftly than the stars (meteors) fall at night. From each hill he looked carefully into the valley so that he saw all there was in every valley, but he saw nothing of the Four Brothers until he came to the high hills far towards the setting sun.

In the valley there was much game of every kind and in one of them he found a stone knife that he knew belonged to the oldest Brother. In another valley he found a stone arrow-head that he knew belonged to the next to the oldest Brother. In a third, he found a stone ax that he knew belonged to the next to the youngest Brother, and in a fourth he found a stone bone breaker that he knew belonged to the youngest Brother. Then he knew he was on the right road to find the Brothers, and looked carefully into each valley.

Near the mountains he saw a valley that was barren, with nothing in it but a stone, a tree, and a little brown hill from which he saw smoke rise. He took off his robe and sat down to watch this. Soon a huge coyote, larger than a buffalo came out of the hill and began to jump up very high and yelp very loud. Then the stone began to roll and bump about and the tree began to move from place to place.

Beyond this, towards the setting sun, the hills became higher and higher until there were mountains. Near the mountain, the Stone Boy found a barren valley where he could see nothing but a stone, a tree, and a little brown hill. While he was looking at the little brown hill he saw smoke coming from it as from a tipi and as he watched, the stone went to a pool of water and took a drink and the tree began to move about and a great coyote, as large as a buffalo, came out of the little brown hill and began to jump and yelp.

The Stone Boy took off his robe and sat down to watch and soon a growl like thunder came from the hills beyond. When he heard this growl, the coyote jumped very high and fast and yelped and yelled, the stone moved about and bumped on the ground, the tree moved from place to place, and a little old woman came out of the hill and looked towards the growling. Soon a huge bear as large as a cloud came over the hills. He walked upright like a man and held some people in his forelegs and his growl sounded like loud thunder. He came into the valley and held the Indians up to the tree. The Stone Boy saw that each branch of the tree was a snake. These snakes bit the Indians as the bear held them up so that they were paralyzed. When they were still as if they were dead, the bear threw them down on the hard smooth ground and the stone rolled over them and flattened them so that they were like dried buffalo skins.

Thus the little old woman laid them on the little brown hill and the Stone Boy saw that the hill was made of flattened Indians piled one on top of another. When the Indians had all been placed on the hill, the coyote sniffed towards the hill where the Stone Boy stood and jumped up and yelped. Then he sniffed and jumped up again; he sniffed very hard, jumped very high, and yelped very loud and the little old woman pointed to that hill and the bear growled and came to it. But the Stone Boy put on his robe and stepped to another hill. The bear looked foolish and said, "That must have been a thunderbird (*wakinyan*, a Winged God).

Then the bear came towards the hill he was on, running very fast, and growling like thunder. Then the Stone Boy quickly put on his robe and when the bear was almost near him he stepped to another hill. The bear stopped and looked very foolish and said, "That must have been a thunderbird that passed by me." Then the coyote sniffed towards him again and jumped up and down, and the bear ran towards the hill he was on, but when he got there the Stone Boy stepped to another

hill and the bear looked very foolish and said, "I think that is a thunderbird going by."

Then the coyote sniffed towards the hill where the Stone Boy stood and again jumped up and down and the tree walked that way and the stone came also. The bear growled like very heavy thunder and came creeping towards the hill, watching everything very closely, but when he got near the Stone Boy he stepped to another hill. Then the bear was afraid, and ran back to the little hill, whining and whimpering, for he thought it was a thunderbird. Then the little old woman came out of the hill and the coyote yelped and jumped up and down and ran around and around and the branches of the tree squirmed and licked their tongues out and hissed like a great wind. The stone jumped up and down and every time it came down it shook the earth.

Then the Stone Boy stood up and took off his robe and jeered at them and mocked them. They saw him. The old woman screamed and the coyote yelped louder than ever and jumped up and down, and the tree walked towards him, every snake hissing loud. The stone rolled and tumbled towards him and the bear came very fast towards him growling like a thunder cloud. When the bear was very close he raised his paw to strike him but the Stone Boy shot one of the arrows through his heart and he fell dead.

Then the coyote came jumping up and down. Every time he jumped up he went higher and higher and when he was near enough he jumped up so as to come down on the Stone Boy, but the Stone Boy set his spear on the ground and when the coyote came down the spear ran through his heart and killed him. Then the stone came rolling and tumbling and smashing everything in its path. When it was about to roll over the Stone Boy and smash him he raised his warclub and struck it a mighty blow and broke it into pieces.

The tree could not walk up the hill, so the Stone Boy went down into the valley and when he came near the tree the branches began to strike at him, but he held up the shield the warrior had given him and when one of the snake branches would strike it its teeth would break off and its head would be smashed. So the Stone Boy danced about the tree and sang and shouted until every branch had smashed itself to death against his shield.

The little old woman then went into the little hill and the Stone Boy came near it and cried, "Ho, old woman, come out." But the old woman said, "My friend, I am a weak old woman. Have pity on me and come into my tipi."

The Stone Boy saw that the little hill was a strange kind of tipi. He found the door, went in, and the old woman said, "My friend, I am a weak old woman, but you are welcome to my tipi. I will get you something to eat and drink." The Stone Boy noticed that her tongue was forked so he was wary and watched her closely.

She said, "My friend, you must be tired. Lie down and rest while I get food for you." The Stone Boy lay down and the old woman passed close to him saying, "The meat is behind you." As she leaned over him she stabbed him over the heart, but her stone knife broke off when it struck him.

She said, "My friend, I stumbled and fell on you." The Stone Boy said, "I will sit up so that you will not stumble over me." So she said, "My friend, sit near the center of the tipi, so I can go about you without stumbling over you."

So the Stone Boy sat near the center of the lodge, and the old woman moved about him. As she passed behind him she struck him on the head with a warclub

but it only bounced off without hurting him, so she said, "My friend that was a stone that fell from the top of the tipi." The Stone Boy said, "I will sit out by the door of the tipi so that stones will not fall on me." He sat outside by the door of the tipi. The old woman said, "My friend, you must be hungry. I will make soup for you. She made soup with bad medicine in it and gave it to the Stone Boy who drank it.

The old woman said, "Ho, you are the one I hate. I am Iya, the evil spirit. I hate all Indians. I destroy all Indians. I have given you that which will destroy you. You have swallowed poison. It will kill you. I am Iya the evil one. I know whom you seek. You were hunting for your mother's brothers. They are there in that tipi. They are like tanned skins. You will soon die and I will make a tanned skin of you. I must have a living stone to flatten you out, but there is only one other living stone and I must find it. The living stone was my master. He is the only one I feared. He is the only one who could hurt me. No one else can do me any harm. His only relative is a living stone. He is now my master and none other. But you will die from the poison I have given you and I will sing your death song."

She sang:—

A young man would be wise.  
A young man would be brave.

He left the places he knew.  
He came to strange places.

He came to death's valley.  
He came to Iya's tipi.

He slew Iya's son, the coyote.  
He slew Iya's daughter, the snake tree.

He broke the living stone.  
He broke Iya's only master.

Iya will be revenged on him.  
Iya will see him die.

He slew my friend the bear.  
Iya will laugh and see him die.

Then the Stone Boy said, "May I also sing a song?" Iya said, "Ho, sing what you will. It is your death song and it is music that will make my heart glad." Then the Stone Boy sang:—

The living stone was Iya's master.  
The living stone had but one relation.

He had a son that was little.  
A pebble white as the snow.

Iya feared this pebble and stole it.  
Feared it because it was white.

Iya carried it into a far country.  
Iya threw it from him on a hilltop.

Where it would not be nourished.  
Where it would not be life warmed.

He thought no one would find it.  
He thought it would be there forever.

A woman born mysterious.  
Found this pebble mysterious.

She gave to it the warmth of life.  
She gave to it of herself.

Her son was that white pebble,  
The son of the living stone.

The wisest Shaman taught him wisdom.  
The bravest warrior taught him bravery.

The oldest woman taught him cunning.  
The best of women taught him kindness.

The people taught him justice.  
To strive for the right against the evil.

He was charmed from harm by the Shaman.  
He was armed against evil by the warrior.

On his robe was the dream of the old woman.  
On his feet was the magic of the young women.

Thus he came to death's valley.  
Thus he came to Iya's tipi.

He slew Iya's friend, the bear.  
Because he enticed away the people.

He slew Iya's son, the coyote.  
Because he did evil only.

He broke the living stone.  
Because it was Iya's master.

He slew Iya's daughter, the snake tree.  
Because her faults were many.

Iya's knife would not harm him,  
Iya's club would not kill him.

Iya's broth would not kill him.  
It only makes him warm and stronger.

You will not laugh and see me die.  
For this is not my death song.

I am the pebble you threw away.  
I am the Stone Boy, your master.

Then Iya said, "How shall I know you to be my master?" The Stone Boy said, "Do my bidding or I will punish you." Then Iya said, "I am a weak old woman. Have pity on me and do not punish me." The Stone Boy said, "Your tongue is forked, and you do not tell the truth. You are not a woman. You are an evil old man. You have pity on no one, but do evil to everyone. Tell me, where are my mother's brothers?" Iya said, "I do not know. I was only boasting when I said

I knew where they were. Have pity on me. Do not make it hard for me." Then the Stone Boy said, "I will have no pity on you. Tell me where my mother's brothers are." Iya said, "I do not know."

Then the Stone Boy seized him by the foot and placed it on the ground and trod on it and Iya's foot was flattened like a piece of dried skin and he howled with pain. But the Stone Boy demanded of him to tell where his mother's brothers were, and Iya declared that he did not know. Then the Stone Boy flattened his other foot in the same way, and Iya sobbed and cried with pain and said he would tell all to the Stone Boy if he would not punish him any farther, for Iya recognized that the Stone Boy was truly his master. Iya said:—

"In ancient times, I found game plentiful in the valleys below here, and good hunters and brave men came here to hunt it. These good men could not be made to do evil at their homes, so I could not do them mischief. So I made a bargain with your father, the living stone, and with the great bear and brought my sons and daughter with me and we all lived here in this valley. (Iya was a giant, he fought with the living stone. The stone conquered and became his master. He kept Iya with nothing to eat until he grew smaller and became a little old person.)

"The bargain was that the bear would go out among the game, and when a good man came to hunt, the bear would show himself and being so big, the hunters would chase him until they came where they could see my son who would jump up and down and scare them so that they would fall down with no strength. Then the bear would take them in his arms and bring them to my daughter who would sting them so that they would be paralyzed. Then the living stone would roll on them and flatten them out like skins and I would heap them up on my tipi poles. As they were alive this would always be a torment to them. In this way I could do mischief to good men.

"We often heard of the four men who lived alone and did a woman's work and who never did evil to anyone, so that I could not torment them. But they would not hunt or go on the warpath and we thought they would never come within our power. So I determined to get a woman into their tipi that they might do some evil but I could not get an ordinary woman among them. Then I tried to break off a branch from my daughter, the snake tree, and put it into their tipi, but the branches would not break and the only way I could get a part of my daughter was by digging out a part of the heart of the tree. This I did and placed it near the tipi of the four men. so that when one of them went to get wood he would step on it and stick it into his toe. These men were so good that when they cared for this child it grew up a good woman as they were men, but I waited patiently for when she grew to be a woman I knew they would not live as they had before. When she was a woman they came to hunt for her and the bear enticed them and they were caught and flattened and are now tormented on my tipi poles.

"When I threw the white pebble away I knew that no ordinary woman could nourish it into life and growth and when your mother grew up to be a woman I did not think of her being a mysterious woman who could give life and growth to the pebble. So my own evil has brought the punishment on me, for I know that you are my master and that you will not let me do evil any more. But those who now lie on my tipi poles will still be tormented."

Then the Stone Boy said, "Tell me. How can these people that are on your tipi poles be restored to their natural conditions." Iya said, "I will not." The Stone Boy said, "I am your master. Tell me or I will punish you." Then Iya said,

"Remember I am your grandfather, and do not punish me." The Stone Boy said, "I broke my own father in pieces because he was evil. Do you think I would spare you because you are my grandfather?" Iya said, "I will not tell you."

Then the Stone Boy said, "Give me your hand." He took Iya's hand and trod on it and it was flattened like a dried skin and Iya howled with pain. Then the Stone Boy said, "Tell me or I will flatten your other hand," and Iya said, "I will tell you."

"You must skin the bear and the coyote and stretch their skins over poles so as to make a tight tipi. Then you must gather all the pieces of the broken living stone. You must make a fire of the wood from the snake tree and heat these stones over this fire, and place them in the tipi. Then get one of the flattened people off the poles of my tipi and place it in the tipi you have built. Then place the hot stones in the tipi and pour water over the stones. When the steam rises on to the flattened person, he will be as he was before the bear enticed them."

Then the Stone Boy did as he was told, but the skins of the bear and the coyote would not make a full-sized tipi, so he made it low and round on top. When he made fire of the snake tree the branches were so fat that one would heat all the stones red hot. He had plenty of fuel to heat the stones as often as he wished. So he placed the flattened people in the sweathouse and steamed them and they became men as they were before they were enticed by the bear.

He did not know who his mother's brothers were, so he took the arrow he had found and called to all and asked them whose arrow it was. One man said it was his. He told him to stand to one side. He took the stone knife he had found and asked whose it was. A man said it was his and he told him to stand to one side. He then took the plum seed dice he had found and asked whose they were. One man said it was his and he told him to stand to one side. Then he told the men he had asked to stand aside to look at each other. They did so and when they had looked at each other they embraced each other and the Stone Boy knew they were brothers.

Then the Stone Boy told them the story of the four men, of the birth of his mother and how the four men went away and never came back. Then the men said, "We are those four men." The Stone Boy knew that they were his mother's brothers so he told them the story of his own birth and they said, "We believe you, because we know of the birth of your mother." Then he told them of his preparations to come for them, of his coming and his fight with the bear, the coyote, the stone, and the snake tree, and how he was master of Iya. They said, "We believe you because the bear did entice us and the coyote did jump up and down and the snake did bite us and the stone did roll over us and make us flat like skins and the old woman did spread us on her tipi and we were in torment."

Then the Stone Boy counseled with them as to what he should do with Iya. They advised him to make him flat like a skin but the Stone Boy said, "There is no snake tree to bite him." He came back to Iya and said, "You have been very evil but now I am your master and I shall punish you for all the evil you have done so that you will always be in torment as you have kept all these people." Iya was a great coward and he begged the Stone Boy to spare him and not punish him. But the Stone Boy said, "I shall flatten you like a skin and spread you on a pole."

Then Iya said, "I am Iya, the giant, and I will grow so big that you cannot flatten me. He began to grow and grew larger and larger so that he was a great giant. But the Stone Boy began to trample on him. Beginning at his feet which he had already flattened, he trampled on his legs, so that Iya fell to his knees, he

trampled on his thighs so that Iya fell to his buttocks, he trampled his hips so that great floods of water ran from him. This water was bitter and salty and it soaked into the earth and where it comes out in springs or lakes it makes the water very bad and bitter.

Then he trampled his belly, and Iya vomited great quantities of cherry stones, and the Stone Boy said to him, "What are these cherry stones, and Iya said, "They are the people that I have sucked in with my breath when I went about the earth as a giant." The Stone Boy said, "How can I make these people as they were when you sucked them in with your breath?" Iya said, "Make a fire without smoke." So the Stone Boy got very dry cottonwood and made a fire and when it was burned to coals Iya said, "Get some of the hair from the great bear's skin." He got hair from the great bear, and Iya said, "Put this hair on the fire," and he put it on the fire. Then there arose a great white smoke and it was like the smoke from wild sage branches and leaves. Then Iya said, "Blow this smoke on the cherry stones." The Stone Boy did so, and Iya said, "This drives away all my power to do these people any harm." Iya said, "Get the hair of many women." The Stone Boy took the ornaments from his hair and Iya said, "Burn this on the fire." The Stone Boy did so and there was a thick blue smoke like the smoke of sweetgrass and Iya said, "This gives you power to do what you wish to these people."

The Stone Boy said to the people, "Be as you were before Iya sucked you in with his breath." Every cherry stone arose. They were transformed into men, women, and children so that there were a great many people there. These people were all very hungry and the Stone Boy said to Iya, "What shall I give these people to eat?" Iya replied, "Give them the flesh of the great bear." So he cut off a piece of the flesh of the great bear and gave it to a woman. It grew to be a large piece and this woman cut it in two and gave half of it to another woman. Immediately each of these pieces grew large. Each one of these women cut their pieces in two and gave half to other women. Each time a piece was given away it grew large. Then the women built fires and cooked the meat and all feasted and were happy and sang songs.

The people spoke many different languages and could not understand each other, but the Stone Boy could speak to each one in his own language. He addressed some in their own tongue, "Where was your place?" They replied, "Over the mountains." He said to them, "Go to your people." As he said this to everyone, he gave to the oldest woman of each people, a piece of the flesh from the great bear, so that they had plenty to eat while they traveled. Then the Stone Boy said to his mother's brothers, "Now we will go back to your sister, to my mother, but before we go I will destroy Iya so that he may do no more mischief or hurt the people."

He trod on Iya's chest and his breath rushed out of his mouth and nostrils like a mighty wind and it whirled and twisted, breaking down trees, tearing up grass, throwing the water from the lake, and even piling the rocks and earth over the carcasses of the coyote and the snake tree, so that the thunderbird came rushing through the air to know what all this tumult was about. With his cloud shield he rushed into this great whirlwind, and while the lightning roared and flashed from his eyes, he fought the whirlwind and carried it away into the sky.

Then the Stone Boy said to Iya, "I will now tread your head and your arms out flat like a dried skin and you shall remain forever here in this evil valley where there is no tree, nor grass, nor water, and where no living thing will ever come near you. The sun shall burn you and the cold shall freeze you and you shall feel and think and be hungry and thirsty but no one shall come near you."

Iya grew so large that he lay almost across the valley. His hands were up on the hill where the Stone Boy first showed himself. When the Stone Boy told him his fate, his hands grasped for something and he felt the Stone Boy's robe. This he quickly threw over himself and immediately he became invisible. But the Stone Boy saw what he was doing and jumped quickly to trample on his head before he got the robe over himself. When the Stone Boy trampled the breath out of Iya, his mouth gaped wide open. He got the robe over his head before the Stone Boy could get his feet on him. When the Stone Boy did trample Iya he stepped into his mouth and he closed his jaws like a trap and caught both of the Stone Boy's feet between his teeth.

Iya could not hurt the Stone Boy, but he held the feet very tightly between his teeth and when the Stone Boy drew out one foot he closed still closer on the other so that when that one was dragged out, the moccasin was left in Iya's mouth, and was invisible and could not be found.

#### THE WIZARD AND HIS WIFE.

(Told by Hoka-chatka.)

Long ago, there was an old woman and her little grandson who were so ragged and filthy that the people drove them from the camp and they lived alone, far away from anyone. She was a wise woman and taught the boy strange things so that when he was a young man, though he was still ragged and filthy, he knew how to talk with birds and beasts and to do magical things.

The chief had a beautiful daughter who was so beloved by all, that they would spread their robes on the ground for her to walk upon. This young man wanted the chief's daughter for his wife, but she scorned him because he was so filthy. He told his grandmother what he wanted and asked her to go to the camp and get a bladder for him. She was afraid to go to the camp or to ask anyone for anything, for she knew the people despised her and her grandson and that they would treat her with contempt and might abuse her.

The young man persuaded her to go. When she was near the camp she called to the people and asked if someone would give her a bladder. They made sport of her and told her to keep away from the camp. She was about to go to her tipi when a good woman gave her a bladder. She took it to her grandson and he made a rattle of it and conjured it so that it was magical. He then sat beside the creek where the chief's daughter came for water and when she came and stooped to fill her vessel, she saw his reflection in the water.

When she looked up at him, he told her he wanted her to be his wife. She answered him by scolding and bemeaning him and calling him vile names and ordered him to keep away from her so that she could not see him. He then shook his magic rattle at her and she became like a rattle and rattled at every step she made. She ran, but this only made her rattle the louder, so she began to weep. Her friends put a robe on her and carried her to her father's tipi and she told him of the filthy young man who had asked her to be his wife, and had brought this evil thing on her when she had refused.

The chief knew that the old woman had taught her grandson many wise things and that he was a wizard so he told his daughter that this young man and no other could relieve her of the evil upon her. He advised her to go to the young man and

say that she would be his wife if he would relieve her of the spell that was upon her and then she could run away from him.

She went to the old woman's tipi and told the young man that she had always intended to be his wife, that what she had said to him at the creek was just to tease him, that if he would relieve her from the evil he had put upon her, she would be his wife. He relieved her of the evil and told her to go back to her father's tipi and he would come there and get her with her father's consent and take her in an honorable way, before all the people. This pleased her, for she thought that her father would never give his consent to such an arrangement. When she was relieved of the evil she hurried away.

The people were gathered at her father's tipi, waiting to learn the result of her visit to the young man and when they saw her coming, restored to her natural condition, they shouted their joy and congratulated her on her escape from the filthy young man. The young man perceived that he had been tricked into restoring her and that she did not intend to become his wife and would try to keep out of his power. He went to the creek and hid himself near where she came for water. Soon she came, looking cautiously about to see if he were there. At first she did not see him, but when she stooped to fill her vessel she saw his shadow in the water. She started to run but he shook the rattle at her and she became dry and hard and rattled as she moved.

The people again carried her to her father's tipi and she told him what had happened to her. He then understood that this young man was truly a wizard and told his daughter that she could not escape him and must be his wife. He then directed the people to go to the young man, to treat him well and invite him to come to his tipi, and tell him that he would give him his daughter to be his wife. They did so.

The young man came to the chief's tipi. The chief ordered three old women to take him and cleanse him, bathe him and clothe him in good clothing and put a new robe on him. They did so. When the young man was cleansed and clothed in good clothing all saw that he was a strong and handsome man and good to look upon, so they followed him to the chief's tipi, singing and laughing joyfully.

When the chief's daughter saw him, she smiled upon him and came and put her hand in his. He restored her to her natural condition and wrapped his robe about her and himself, and stood facing all the people, proud and commanding, so that they knew that he would be a chief. The chief then said to him, "You are a wizard, and you shall be known by that name forever."

He then gave his daughter to the wizard to be his wife and made a great feast and the people danced and sang and played games. The young people made love and the old people told stories and all were happy. The old women made a big tipi at the head of the camp, next to the chief's tipi and the wizard and his wife lived in it, happily for many moons.

One morning, the wizard awoke and found his wife gone. He inquired for her in her father's tipi and in all the camp, but could not find her, so the chief called all the people together and asked them about her, but no one could tell where she had gone or what had become of her.

The wizard was disconsolate and wandered aimlessly about until one day he came to his grandmother's tipi. He did not know her, but she said, "Come into my tipi, my grandson. I have been waiting for you. Your wife is gone and I will tell you how to find her." He went into the tipi and his grandmother gave him food. After he had eaten and rested, she gave him a gray bonnet and a big knife and told

him that when he put the bonnet on, no one could see him, and when he struck anything with the big knife, it would be cut to pieces.

She showed him a trail and told him to follow it until he came to a lake and then put on the gray bonnet and dive into the lake where he would find a trail at the bottom and to go on this trail until he came to a river. When he came to the river, she told him to put on the gray bonnet and he could walk across the river. On the other side of the river was a great camp and his wife was in that camp.

The wizard did as his grandmother told him and traveled on the trail until he came to the lake where he put on the bonnet, dived into the lake, and found the trail at the bottom. He went on this trail until he came to a river and he put on the gray bonnet again and walked on the water across the river. On the other side of the river he saw a great camp and in the center of the camp he saw a large tipi. He put the gray bonnet on, so that no one could see him and walked into the camp and went into the big tipi in the center of the camp. Here, he found his wife, sitting in the tipi, making moccasins. He sat down near her and took off the gray bonnet.

She was surprised and pleased to see him and begged him to take her back to his tipi. She begged him to go quickly for she was afraid of the one who had stolen her and brought her there, because he was a strong and savage beast who would try to kill both the wizard and his wife if he found them together. The wizard told her to have no fear, for he wanted to see this evil one who had stolen her, but she begged him so hard to go before the beast came that he took her by the hand and led her out of the door. As they came out of the tipi, his wife cried, "Here it comes. It will kill both of us."

The wizard saw a great beast rushing at them and knew that it was the Magical Buffalo (*Ganask inyan*). He put on the gray bonnet and the Magical Buffalo could see neither him nor his wife. As it rushed by him, he struck it with the big knife and it was cut into pieces. He and his wife then went to the river and he put on the gray bonnet and followed the trail to his grandmother's tipi. They came to her tipi and found her waiting for them, and she said, "Come into my tipi, grandson. I knew that you would bring your wife with you." When they were in the tipi she said to him, "Hang the gray bonnet and the big knife on the side of the tipi, and when you are in trouble come to me." She then gave them food and when they had rested, they went on their way to their own tipi. When the people saw them, they rejoiced; the chief gave a great feast and all were happy.

The wizard and his wife lived happily in their tipi for many moons. One morning, the wizard awoke and found his wife gone again. He searched for her in her father's tipi and in all the camp but could not find her. The chief called the people together but no one could tell where she was or what had become of her. The wizard remembered his grandmother and went to her tipi and found her waiting for him. She said to him, "My grandson, you have lost your wife again. I will help you to find her."

She then gave him food. When he had rested she told him to take the gray bonnet and the big knife and follow her. She went into a wood on the bank of a large river where there was a log with a branch at one end. She twisted this branch round and round and the log rolled over and over towards the river and as it rolled became more and more like a boat, so that when it reached the water it was a boat with a head, two great eyes, and a tail. She told the wizard that this boat would carry him where he wanted to go and that when he got out of it, it would sink below the surface of the water until only its tail could be seen. She told him that when he

wished to use the boat again he should shake the tail and the boat would rise and start away. She warned him that he must get into it quickly or it would go and leave him.

He sat in the boat and it carried him all day. At night he lay down and slept and it carried him all night. The next morning he saw something dark far away, and when the boat brought him near he saw that it was a summer cloud sitting on the bank of the river. The boat carried him to the bank. He got out of it and it sank in the water until only the tail could be seen. He found a trail under the cloud and followed it to the top of a high hill and in the valley beyond he saw a large yellow tipi. He put the gray bonnet on and went to the tipi and walked around it, examining it closely. Then he went into it and found his wife making moccasins and sat down near her.

He took off the gray bonnet. When his wife saw him, she was like one dead with fear. When she revived she begged him to take her away from that place, for the one who had stolen her and brought her there was a malicious and terrible bird with three brothers who were as evil as it, and that when they glared their glance would kill. The wizard told her to have no fear for him, as he wished to see the bird that had stolen her.

While they talked, there was a crash of thunder. The woman grew pale with fear and said that the thunder was one of the birds coming. The wizard told her to sit still as if she were making moccasins and if the bird came in to go out and hurry to the bank of the river and wait for him there.

In a short time, the bird came in and the wizard saw that it was the Thunderbird from the north. Its voice was loud and rough as it said, "Who has been here? There are tracks around the tipi." The woman said, "No one has been here and gone. Look about the tipi for yourself." It looked about the tipi but could see no one, so it said, "I will wait for my brothers."

Soon there was another crash of thunder and another bird came in. The wizard saw that it was the Thunderbird from the west. It said in a loud coarse voice, "Who has been here? There are tracks about the tipi and in the door?" The woman said, "No one has been here and gone. Look about the tipi for yourself." It looked about the tipi but could see no one, so it said, "We will wait for our brothers."

Then there was another crash of thunder and another bird came in. The wizard saw it was the Thunderbird from the south. It said in a loud coarse voice, "Who has been here? There are tracks around the tipi and in the door and near the fireplace." The woman said, "No one has been here and gone. Look about the tipi for yourself." It looked about the tipi but could see no one, so it said, "We will wait for our brother."

Then there was a crash of thunder louder than the others, which shook the tipi and the earth, and soon another bird came. It was larger and more terrible than either of the others. The wizard saw that it was the Thunderbird from the east. It said in a voice that sounded like the growling of an angry bear, "Who has been here? There are tracks around the tipi, and in the door, and near the fireplace and by the woman." The woman said, "No one has been here and gone. Look about the tipi for yourself." It looked about the tipi but could see no one and it said, "Woman, the tracks are tracks of a human. The tracks are of one of your kind. You must be hiding him. You may be sitting on him. Get up and go out of the tipi."

She went out of the tipi and hurried to the bank of the river as the wizard had

told her. When she had gone, the Thunderbirds looked all about the tipi but could see no one, so they gathered up the robes and bags and everything that was in it, and threw them all out, but could find no one. Then the Thunderbird from the north searched all the north side of the tipi, and said, "There is no one in the north side of the tipi." The Thunderbird from the west, searched the west side and said, "There is no one in the west side of the tipi." The Thunderbird from the south searched the south side and said, "There is no one in the south side of the tipi." The Thunderbird from the east searched on one side of the door in the east, and said, "There is no one on this side of the door." As it crossed the doorway, the wizard struck it on the head and knocked it down. It jumped up and knocked down the Thunderbird from the north and it said, "Why did you do that?" and the Thunderbird from the east said, "Why did you knock me down?" The Thunderbird from the north said, "I did not knock you down."

Then the Thunderbird from the east knocked down the Thunderbird from the west, and it said, "Why did you do that?" and the Thunderbird from the east said, "Why did you knock me down?" and the Thunderbird from the west said, "I did not knock you down." Then the Thunderbird from the east knocked down the Thunderbird from the south, and it said, "Why did you do that?" The Thunderbird from the east said, "Why did you knock me down?" and the Thunderbird from the south said, "I did not knock you down." Then the Thunderbird from the east said, "One of you has lied to me, for one of you knocked me down." So they began to quarrel, and soon were fighting. They fought until three of the birds were killed and the other was weak and bloody.

The wizard saw that it was the Thunderbird from the west that was not killed and he took off the gray bonnet and said to the bird, "You are an evil thing. You delight in destroying and killing. You have even killed your own brothers. Now I will kill you." The Thunderbird saw that he was a wizard because he had appeared from nowhere. It was wounded and weak from the loss of blood, so it cried like a woman and begged the wizard to spare its life, but he said, "You have had no mercy on anything or anyone, and I will have no mercy on you."

He threw the gray bonnet down and took the big knife in his hand and stepped towards the bird to strike it, but the gray bonnet fell on the body of one of the dead birds and he could not see it and he stumbled over it and fell down. When he fell, the Thunderbird from the west snatched the gray bonnet and put it on, and the wizard could not see it. He searched long and carefully but could see neither the bird nor the bonnet. Then the Thunderbird mocked him and said, "My brothers are now dead. I am the Thunderbird. I shall keep the gray bonnet and no one shall ever see me again. I am weak now and cannot harm you, but I shall ever be your enemy. I will destroy and kill forever."

The wizard hurried to his wife on the bank of the river, but it was night when he got there and the summer cloud sitting on the bank made it very dark, so they waited for morning. During the night, they saw the glare of the Thunderbird's eye, weak and faint like the northern light, but towards morning it grew stronger and glanced towards them. As soon as it was light enough for them to see, the wizard shook the tail of the boat and it rose to the top of the water. They got into it quickly and it carried them away very fast. It carried them all day. At night, they slept in it and it carried them all night. The next morning, they saw something far away. When the boat brought them near it they saw that it was the wood on the bank of the river where the trail that led to his grandmother's tipi started.

The grandmother stood on the bank waiting for them. When they got out of the boat, she twisted its tail and it rolled over and over, up the bank and into the wood. Each time it rolled over, it grew smaller and rounder until it was a log again. They then went to the grandmother's tipi and she said to him, "Grandson, I knew you would bring your woman back with you. Now hang the gray bonnet and the big knife on the side of the tipi, and if you are ever in trouble come to me."

Then the wizard told her how he had lost the gray bonnet. She went to the top of a hill and wailed a song as if for the dead for she knew that it was gone forever and no man would again wear it. She returned to the tipi and said to the wizard, "My heart is heavy, for the gray bonnet is gone forever. The Thunder is your enemy and it will wear it always. Waziya and Iktomi are its friends and Heyoka and Iya will do its bidding. It will plague you with these evil ones. There is but one bonnet that will help you. That is the brown bonnet. It is far away, but you must get it. When you are in trouble come to me."

She then gave the wizard and his wife food. When they had rested they went on their way to their own tipi. When the people saw them they rejoiced and the chief made a great feast for all. The wizard and his wife lived happily until the winter moon had come when, one night his wife woke him and said, "Waziya is blowing his breath on me." He knew there would be trouble, so he went to his grandmother's tipi, and found her waiting for him. She said, "Grandson, Waziya is troubling your wife. You must get the brown bonnet. A stone wrapped the little brown bonnet in a little red ball and swallowed it. You must find this stone and take the brown bonnet from it. I will prepare you for this quest. Bring me three things. A wolf, a turtle and a meadow lark." She then gave him food and when he had rested, he went to find the wolf, turtle, and meadow lark.

He traveled far on the plains, and met a huge wolf and said to him, "My friend, come and eat with me." The wolf was hungry and sat beside the wizard and they feasted all that day and far into the night. The next morning the wizard told the wolf that he must go in quest of the brown bonnet, and what his grandmother must have to prepare him for the quest. The wolf said, "I have little hair. Waziya's breath pinches me. I will help you that I may be revenged on Waziya."

So the wolf and the wizard traveled on together and they came to a great muddy lake and met a huge turtle.

The wizard, whose name was Piya, said to the turtle, "My friend, come eat with us." The turtle sat and ate with Piya and the wolf. In the morning, Piya told the turtle as he had the wolf. The turtle said, "My skin is thin and insects bite me, but I will help you so that I may be revenged on those who suck my blood." The wizard, the wolf, and the turtle traveled far into the night.

In the morning, Piya spoke to the lark as he had the wolf and turtle. The lark said, "My voice is harsh and I can sing but one note and the magpie laughs at me; but I will help you so that I can make the magpie ashamed." So Piya, the wolf, the turtle, and the lark went together to the tipi of the wizard's grandmother.

She stood outside and said, "Grandson, I knew you would come and bring that which I want." She then bade them go inside. She prepared a feast for them and they feasted far into the night. In the morning Piya told his grandmother what the wolf, the turtle, and the lark had said. She told them that if they would give her what she wished she would give each of them what he most wished. The wolf, the turtle, and the lark agreed to this. She said she wished the wolf to give her grandson the cunning by which he could follow a hidden trail and find hidden things:

the turtle to give him the sense by which he could locate water; and the lark to give him the power to hide himself without a covering.

The wolf said he wished for fur clothing for himself and his people so that they could laugh at the Old Man, Wazi. The turtle said he wished for hard and tough clothing so that he could laugh at all insects that bite and suck blood. The lark said he wished for a pleasing voice so that he could sing and make the magpie ashamed.

The Old Woman then said that if they would first help her grandson as she wished, she would give them and all their people what they wished. She then told them how to go to a far region where there were neither trees, nor grass, nor open trail, and but little water in hidden springs. She gave Piya the big knife and a magic rattle and told him to go upon the barren region and find his wife.

The wizard, the wolf, the turtle and the lark traveled together as the Old Woman had instructed them. Piya was sad, for he thought of his wife, but the others were happy, for they thought of that which the Old Woman would give them. In the evening the wolf taught Piya how to lie hidden with no covering. Thus they traveled many days and came to the barren region. Piya took food and went alone upon this region, but he could see no trail and wandered about until he remembered the cunning the wolf had taught him. Then he found a hidden trail and traveled on it until evening, when he located a spring hidden under a stone, with little water in it. He camped there that night. In the morning a bear came and Piya hid himself as the lark had taught him. The bear saw the stone was taken from the spring, and he raged and sniffed about to find who had drunk from his spring. Piya showed himself and the bear reared and rushed to attack him. Piya shook the magic rattle toward the bear and he could not move. Piya showed the big knife and the bear whimpered and begged for pity and promised to help Piya in any manner. Then Piya told of his wife and why he was there. The bear said that the Crazy Buffalo had stolen his wife and kept her in his tipi which was four days' journey distant; that the hidden trail was to this tipi which was like a huge cactus; that no man could enter this cactus without wearing the brown bonnet; and that the brown bonnet was hidden in a red stone that was like a fruit on the cactus.

Piya traveled on the hidden trail for four days and then saw a huge cactus. He hid himself and watched it. The Crazy Buffalo came from the cactus. He hid himself and watched it. The Crazy Buffalo came from the cactus and bellowed that he smelled a man. He sniffed this way and that way and then rushed along the hidden trail, grunting and snorting.

When Piya could no longer see him he went to the cactus and saw what appeared to be a large fruit on it. He struck the fruit with the big knife. When it fell to the ground, he saw that it was a stone. He struck the stone with the big knife and cut it through. The brown bonnet was inside the stone and Piya put it on his head. A door opened in the cactus and he went inside and when his wife saw him she was much afraid.

She said that the Crazy Buffalo was a ferocious demon and would kill Piya when he came back. Piya told her not to fear and do as he bade her. When the Crazy Buffalo came and saw the broken red stone he bellowed with rage. Piya hid. The demon came into the cactus and said, "I smell a man. Where is he?" The woman said, "No man has been here and gone." The Crazy Buffalo said, "You hid a man and I will gore you." Piya said to the woman, "Run away from here." The Crazy Buffalo turned to see who spoke and the woman ran from the cactus and far away. When Piya showed himself and the Crazy Buffalo rushed to gore him, he shook the

magic rattle. When the Crazy Buffalo heard the rattle he could not move. He said to Piya, "You are a wizard and have much power. We should be friends, for I also have much power. We can work together and we can do anything that we may wish." Piya said nothing. The Crazy Buffalo said, "If you will be my friend I will give you my power. You will be a chief and a brave and the women will sing your songs." Piya said nothing. The Crazy Buffalo said, "I will give you power so that you will have plenty of meat and robes and can take the wives of other men and ravish the young women and no one will harm you." Piya gazed far away, but said nothing. The Crazy Buffalo grew bold and said, "Let me take the brown bonnet and I will show you how to wear it so that you can do as you wish in anything." Then Piya said, "You tell me lies to escape from me, but you shall not escape." He drew the big knife and when the Crazy Buffalo saw it he begged for mercy.

Piya said, "You are a demon who has had no pity for anyone, and I will have no pity for you." He then struck the Crazy Buffalo with the big knife and cut him into four pieces. Piya then went and found his wife. Together they traveled on the hidden trail until they came to where the wolf, the turtle, and the lark waited for them. All rejoiced and they went to the Old Woman's tipi. She stood outside and said, "Grandson, I knew that you would get the brown bonnet and find your wife."

She then made a feast and all feasted until far into the night. In the morning she gave the wolf, the turtle, and the lark what each had wished for, and together they went on the trail. She told her grandson to hang the brown bonnet and big knife in the tipi, and keep the magic rattle, and as long as it was in his tipi no harm would come to him or his wife.

The wizard and his wife returned to her people and they rejoiced, singing songs, dancing, and playing games. The chief made a great feast and gave away all he possessed. The women put up a new tipi beside that of the chief and the wizard's wife led him through its door and seated him on the man's place.

#### HOW THE LARK WON THE RACE.

The Old Woman told the wolf, the turtle, and the lark that if they would help her grandson find his wife she would give each of them what he most wished. They helped her grandson and he found that his wife was stolen by the Crazy Buffalo. He killed the Crazy Buffalo and brought his wife to his grandmother's tipi. Then the wolf wished for fur clothing for himself and his people. The turtle wished for tough clothing for himself and his people. The lark and all his people had clothing which would hide them where there was no cover, so he wished for a pleasant voice for himself and all his people. The Old Woman gave each one what he wished and together they went on the trail.

Each claimed that his gift was the best and they argued and soon quarreled. They were about to fight when a young man appeared and asked them why they quarreled. They told him. He said that the only way to decide whose gift was the best was to find which would help the most in a game. The wolf proposed a hunting game, but the turtle and the lark said they could not hunt. The turtle proposed a swimming game, but the wolf and lark said they could not swim. The lark proposed a singing game, but the wolf and turtle said they could not sing. Then the young man said that a running game would decide the question and all agreed to

run a race. The young man told them that they must run by a plum thicket, across a marsh, and to the top of a hill where they would find white and colored clays; and that the first that brought white clay to him would win the race. They ran. The wolf and turtle ran side by side, for neither could run swifter than the other; but the lark ran far behind them.

When the wolf was near the thicket he saw a bundle in a plum bush and sniffed toward it. The scent was not like any he had smelled, so he became curious and wanted to know what was in the bundle. He asked the turtle to wait. The turtle said he would when he came to the marsh. The wolf walked around the bush and eyed the bundle with care. Then he reared against the bush and sniffed at it, but still he was puzzled. He jumped to pull the bundle down, but did not reach it and the thorns on the bush pricked him. Again he jumped, and again the thorns pricked him. This made him angry and he determined to get the bundle.

He jumped many times. Each time the thorns pricked him and made many wounds on his back and sides. Finally, he pulled the bundle down. He was so angry that he shook it from side to side and it flopped against his sides. The bundle was a young woman's menstrual bundle and it smeared its contents into the wounds of the wolf. This made him itch so that he must scratch himself, but the more he scratched the more he itched. He scratched and scratched, until he tore his fur clothing and his blood flowed and he forgot the race. The turtle ran to the marsh and there waited for the wolf a long time. He thought that the wolf had tricked him and gone on to the hill.

He saw a puff ball; because it looked like white clay he thought he would trick the wolf and fool the young man with it. So he carried it back and showed it to the young man who said that the turtle was the first to show something as proof that he had been on the top of the hill.

When the lark ran by the thicket, he saw the wolf jumping and this encouraged him to run faster. When he came to the marsh, he saw the turtle waiting, and he was more encouraged, so he ran on to the top of the hill. Here he took a lump of yellow clay and ran to carry it back to the young man. When he was crossing the marsh, he stumbled and dropped the clay into black mud. He picked it up, but was in too much of a hurry to clean the black mud from it. When he was near the young man, he saw the turtle sitting and smiling so he thought he had lost the race and wept. His tears washed the yellow clay from his mouth and made the front of his clothes yellow while the mud made a black stripe on the yellow.

The wolf came last, scratching and howling, and the turtle taunted him, saying that he howled like an old woman mourning for the dead, and whimpered like a hungry babe. The turtle strutted and swaggered saying that nothing could make him whimper. The young man said that the turtle was first to return in the race, but he must prove his boast that nothing could make him cry out if he should lose. The turtle said he could prove in any manner all that he had said. Then the young man placed the puff ball on the turtle's back. It quickly grew so large that its weight was all that the turtle could hold up. The puff ball continued to grow and soon it crushed the turtle's body to the ground and made his legs short and cracked. Still the puff ball grew and mashed the body of the turtle flat, and forced his breath from him so that he lay as if dead. Then the puff ball became black and light as a feather, but still the turtle could not straighten his legs or make his body as it was, so he hid his head under his thick hard skin.

Then the young man laughed loud and long and told the wolf, the turtle, and the

lark that his name was Iktomi and that because they quarreled about the good things the Old Woman had given instead of using them, he had tricked them and caused them to bring on themselves that which would be with them and with their people forever; that because the wolf had meddled with that which was not his affair whenever he or any of his people meddled with a young woman's bundle they should itch and scratch and lose their fur clothing. In this manner the wolves get the mange. He said that because the turtle had cheated to win the race his legs and his people's should forever be short and crooked and their bodies should be flat, so that they could never run in a race; that because he had lied about the puff ball by saying that it was white clay, neither he nor his people should ever speak and should always hide their heads for shame; that the lark had won the race, but because he had brought yellow instead of white clay, his clothes and the clothes of his people should always be yellow in front and there should be a black stripe on the yellow, so that none of them could ever hide themselves where there was no cover.

#### THE SUN DANCE TAUGHT TO THE LAKOTA.

In their winter camp the Lakota were hungry and the little children cried for meat. In a visitation a shaman was told that if a man would go west he would be taught how the people could get food. At the council a young man offered to go, so the people gave him a pouch with a little food in it. He went westward and saw an old woman. She asked him for food and he gave her his pouch. She ate ravenously and he thought she would eat all his food, but he sang a song of joy and looked westward while she ate. She watched him and when she had finished eating she returned the pouch to him and told him that she was Wakanka, the Old Woman, and because he had cheerfully given her all his food he should never be hungry. He looked at the pouch and it was full of good food. Ever after it remained full, no matter how often or how much he took from it. The old woman said that the weather was cold and the snow deep, and no one would travel except from necessity.

She then gave him a robe made of woven rabbitskins, very light and very warm, and moccasins lined with otter fur, the soles of which were thick and springy like a bow. She told him to go to a hill in the west and there someone would tell him where to go. He went as she told him. The robe was so light that it kept him from sinking in the snow and the soles of his moccasins so springy that they shot him forward like an arrow. Soon he came to a hill and saw an old man sitting on it. The old man said he was very cold for he had no robe. The young man gave him the rabbit-skin robe. The old man said, "I am Wazi, the Wizard. Because you have given me your robe you shall never be cold." He told him to go to a cave and someone there would guide him, but if he should see a young man not to listen to him.

The young man went westward; the weather was warm and there was no snow. He saw another young man going westward and soon overtook him. This young man asked him where he was going and why he traveled so fast. The young man did not answer and continued to travel. The stranger traveled with him and as fast as he did, asking many questions, but the young man would not speak. Then the stranger said he could tell how the young man could travel still faster. When the young man asked how that could be done, he said that his two moccasin soles made him travel fast, but that if he had four moccasin soles he would travel twice as fast. The young man asked how he could have four moccasin soles, and the stranger said

it was easy to make four moccasin soles from the two, for if the two soles were cut into halves, there would be four moccasins. The young man cut across his moccasin soles and made four pieces of them; but when he put his moccasins on, the soles would not spring, and he could travel no faster than he could before he had the magical moccasins. Then the stranger laughed loudly and long. When the young man asked him who he was, he said he was Iktomi, and that when the people told about the young man who went to get meat for the children they would laugh because he cut the soles of his moccasins.

Now the young man felt ashamed and he took his pouch of food into his hands, for that was all that was left of what the old woman had given him. When he took it in his hands it rattled like a rattle and he shook it toward Iktomi, causing Iktomi to flee in terror.

Then the young man laughed at Iktomi and went on his way toward the cave. When he came to the cave he saw a new tipi beside it and stood looking at it. A beautiful young woman came out of it, took his hand, led him through the door and sat him on the man's seat in the tipi. She then sat at the woman's place finishing a pair of moccasins. The young man was so surprised that he only stared at her. When she had finished the moccasins she said that now she had husbanded her tipi and had made moccasins for her man. So she gave them to the young man and bade him put them on. He did so and then he asked her who she was. She replied that she was his woman and would serve him as long as he would abide with her. He then told her that the children of his people cried for meat, that he was going to the west to learn how to get meat for them, and so could not stop and abide with her. She said that she had led him by the hand through the door of her tipi, seated him at the man's place in her tipi, and thus bound him to herself, and that by putting on the moccasins she had made for him he had consented to be her man, according to the customs of his people. The young man said that he could not let the little children of his people die of hunger, and that he must go and learn how to get meat for them. She replied that if he would abide with her in her tipi that night she would go with him and guide him to where he could learn how to get plenty of meat.

The young man stayed with her that night and in the morning they traveled together in the cave, she guiding. Thus, they came down to where the buffalo people live and found them dancing. The young woman gave her man a whistle and told him to dance with the buffalo people. He did so, learning how to dance as they did. Then his woman told him to sit with the musicians. He did so, learning the songs they sang.

When the dance was over the woman told the young man that the buffalo people had been dancing before the sun because they wished the sun to do something for them, and that when they pleased the sun in this manner, the sun would do that which they wished to be done. Then she took her man's hand and led him to the tipi of the chief of the buffalo people and told her father that she had led this man through the door and seated him at the man's place in her tipi and that he had put on the moccasins she had made for him; that the little children of his people cried for meat, and he had come to learn how he could get meat for them. The chief told him that as he had accepted his daughter as his woman, he thus became the same as a buffalo man. Hence, the chief would tell how the buffalo people pleased the sun, so that the sun would give them what they wanted.

He said that when the people danced as they did when the young man came, it pleased the sun, and he would give what the people needed. He then told the young

man to return to his people and tell them that if they would vow to dance before the sun when the snow was gone, and ask the sun for meat he would give them plenty of meat. The young man returned to his people and his woman went with him. He told his people all that he had seen and all that had been told him, and the people vowed to dance before the sun when the snow was gone. Then the shaman asked the sun to give them meat. Then the buffalo woman stood before the council and told them to have all the men prepare for killing game, and she would guide them to where they could kill enough to give plenty of meat.

When the women saw her stand before the council and heard her speak, they raised a great outcry, and said that she was the two-faced woman, and wanted to entice their men away from them, and called attention to her brown hair and blue eyes as proof that she was a wicked being. Then the men doubted her. The young man stood beside his woman and said he was wearing the moccasins she made for him, and he wrapped his robe about her and himself. He said there was meat for the little children, and if the men were afraid to go and bring it he would go with his woman to her people. Then the shaman stood before the people and they were silent. He filled and lighted a pipe and smoked it. Then he filled and lighted the pipe and passed it, and the council smoked in communion. While they smoked he made incense, first with sage, and then with sweetgrass.

Then he stood and the people were silent. He said that those who would not do as the young man had told them should suffer. Then the council ordered that all the men prepare as if for the chase and go, guided by the woman. She guided them to the other side of a hill and there they found a great herd of buffalo. The men killed until they were satisfied. The women had followed from the camp, wailing the songs that are sung for one who is departing on a perilous journey, but when they came to the top of the hill and saw the men killing, they hurried back to the camp, shouting and singing joyfully. They brought their implements and made meat of the dead buffalo.

There was meat enough for many moons. The women prepared a great feast and when all were feasting the woman stood, and the women painted the parting of her hair red, and the shaman painted a red stripe across her forehead, thus making her the daughter of the people. The young man stood beside her, wrapping his robe about her and himself, and the young women sang songs in praise of them.

The raccoon moon came and the snow was gone and the people went their ways. Only the young man, his woman, and the shaman remained at the place of the winter camp. The young man sat with his robe over his head, for he had reminded the people of their vows to dance before the sun. They had replied that they had plenty of meat and soon they could hunt the buffalo and get more. Thus, the young man was ashamed for his people.

The people hunted, but found no game, and their meat was all gone. Then they remembered their vows, and came to ask the shaman what they should do. It was then the moon of ripe chokecherries. The shaman told the people that they had not been sincere when they vowed to the sun and that now they must manifest their sincerity by causing their blood to flow from wounds, and fulfill their vows by dancing before the sun; but, because the women had doubted that the sun would give meat they should not dance before the face of the sun. Then the buffalo woman showed the people how to make the camp circle and the dance lodge, and the young man taught the men the songs and the dance. The buffalo came and there was plenty of meat, and the woman showed the women how to prepare the buffalo tongues for the

feasts. The shaman told them how their blood must flow and how they must suffer because they had been insincere. When the moon was round all were ready, the women gave feasts and the men danced before the face of the sun and the sun was pleased. Since that time when a Lakota very much wishes for something he vows to dance the Sun dance if the sun will give him what he wishes. If he does so he should dance the Sun dance when the chokecherries are ripe.

#### HOW BIG-FOOT GOT HIS NAME.

(Told by John Blunt-horn.)

In the moon, when the leaves fall, in the year when many stars fell, a war party of twenty men went on the warpath against the Pawnee. A small orphan boy wanted to go with them, but as he was only nine years old, they refused him at first. He begged them so to go that they finally consented, and he went with them. They were all armed with bows and arrows except two men who had guns they had traded for with the Hudson Bay Fur Company.

After they had made five camps, they came to a great herd of buffalo and killed a great many. They camped at this place until they had dried the best parts of the meat, when they continued on their warpath. One evening, they came to a good camping place in the woods on the bank of a creek and camped there. After they had been there a short time, one of the men said that he had camped at this place, once before, and knew it, and that there was a ghost dwelling here. He advised the party to move to another place to avoid trouble from the ghost but the others of the party ridiculed him and told him that they were not afraid of ghosts and that if one should come they would take it prisoner and carry it back to their friends. The little boy did not say anything but he sat and thought about the ghost.

After they had eaten, they made a tipi of branches of the trees and covered it with grass, and sat outside talking, but the boy sat inside and thought about the ghost. While they were talking, they heard a sound as if someone were singing and then something cried "Hoo-oo-oo" in a mournful way. The man who had warned them of the ghost said that this was the ghost and begged them to go away at once, but the others said they would wait and see the ghost.

The two men with the guns were told to get them ready and if the ghost showed itself, to fire at it and scare it away. All this time the boy sat inside the tipi, beside the door, with his robe over his head thinking about the ghost. Soon the sound came nearer, and the warriors went to find what it was, but they could find nothing so they came back to the tipi.

After a while, the sound appeared to be close to them, but they could see nothing until the sound appeared among them when they saw a thing like a skeleton, with a little hair left on the head and a little flesh hanging to some of the bones. This frightened them so that they fled into the tipi, falling over each other and piled upon one another at the back of the tipi. Here they lay in a pile, some of them fainting and the others hiding their faces from fear. The boy looked at them and then turned and looked at the ghost and beckoned it to come into the tipi.

It came in and stood looking at the boy, who took a piece of the buffalo meat, put it on a stick and placed it before the fire. When it was hot he offered it to the ghost. The ghost took the meat. Then the boy took some of the choice fat and

offered it and the ghost took this also. Then the boy put some fat from the kidneys of a buffalo on a stick and placed it before the fire. While it was getting hot, he said to the ghost, "I have given you of the best food that we have and I want you to do something for me."

The ghost said, "What do you want? I will do it for you, if I can." The boy said, "I want to strike an enemy; I want to be slightly wounded; and I want to capture horses from the enemy. The ghost said, "I will help you in these things." Then the boy gave the ghost the hot fat and it went away crying "Hoo-oo-wi" which grew fainter and fainter until it could not be heard.

When the ghost had gone, the boy went and pulled the warriors off each other and brought water for those who had fainted. After all had been restored the boy said to them, "You are like old women. You are frightened by a friend. What will you do if an enemy should come?" Then the warriors hid their faces and were ashamed.

The next morning when they were starting from the camp, the boy pretended to be mending his moccasin. He told them not to wait for him as he would overtake them. They went without him. After they were gone, the boy went another way, for he knew where they were to camp that night. He kept thinking of what the ghost had promised him, all the day, and near evening, he came to a creek and saw smoke. He thought this was from fire that his party had made, but he was puzzled for this was not the place they had said they would camp. So he stole carefully near where the smoke was coming from and saw that it was a camp of Pawnee and that they had many horses. The horses were hobbled and near the camp, but he determined to try to get some of them. So he waited until late at night when he stripped off all his clothing and took with him only a knife and the cord for binding his robe. He crept near the horses and then crawled on his belly until he was among them.

The horses snorted and shied away from him. A Pawnee came to find what was the matter and the boy curled himself about a bush of sagebrush so that the Pawnee could not see him. The Pawnee drove the horses nearer the camp and then went away. Again, the boy crawled among the horses. This time he found a gentle horse which he caught and bridled with the cord he had with him. He then untied the hobble and had enough cord to lead the horse. He led the horse from one to another of the other horses, driving them slowly farther from the camp all the time, and when he could catch a horse he would untie the hobbles. When he had twenty horses freed from their hobbles he got on the horse he was leading and began to drive them away. As soon as he was far enough away from the Pawnee so that he thought they would not hear him he began to drive them as fast as possible towards his own camp. He did not get to their camp until the morning, just-as they were about to break camp and go back to hunt for him. They were surprised to see him come with the horses, and while they were trying to catch them the Pawnee came upon them and they had to fight them. The boy herded the horses he had taken while his party fought the Pawnee, until a Pawnee charged on horseback towards the horses to stampede them. Just as he was about to do so one of the boy's friends shot the horse the Pawnee was riding and it fell and threw its rider near the boy. The Pawnee jumped up and drew an arrow to shoot the boy, but the boy's friend shot the Pawnee just as he let his arrow fly. The arrow hit the boy in the foot making a bad wound, but he rushed forward and struck the Pawnee before the one who shot him could do so.

The Pawnee were driven away. The boy kept the horses and brought them to the camp of his people. When the war party had returned, the boy told the story

of the ghost and what it had promised to help him do. His wounded foot swelled until it was very large. To give him a new name for the brave thing he had done, the people called him Big-foot. Big-foot was a brave warrior and the chief of a band. He was killed by the white soldiers at Wounded Knee, on the Pine Ridge Reservation.

#### LEGENDS OF THE ORIGIN OF THE BUFFALO CEREMONY.

(Told by Antoin Herman, a mixed-blood Oglala.)

*Iktomi*, wandering in the west, came to the tipi of *Tatanka* who invited him into his lodge and gave him an abundance of food. Then *Iktomi* said, "My friend, you are large and strong, and very wise, while I am small and weak, but I am also very wise. I am often very hungry and if you will teach me the good things you eat to keep you so fat, I will teach you many wonderful things." Then *Tatanka* said, "Buffalo grass is very good. That is what I eat to keep me fat." *Iktomi* said, "Sage is very good to eat and it will make you fatter." Then *Tatanka* knew that *Iktomi* was trying to play a trick on him, for he knew that sage is a bitter medicine, so he said to himself, "I will think well on what *Iktomi* says to me." *Iktomi* said, "My friend, let us prove that our hearts are good towards each other. I will tell you what I fear more than anything else and you tell me what you fear the most."

*Tatanka* said, "How." *Iktomi* said, "I am the oldest, therefore you should tell first." *Tatanka* feared that *Iktomi* wished to play a trick on him, so he said, "I fear more than anything else to be shot by an arrow in the forehead, because the breath of my life is in my forehead and my mysterious power lies in my horns which grow from my forehead." Then *Iktomi* said, "My mysterious power lies in my hair, and I fear more than anything else to have my hair broken, for that would kill me." Soon after this *Iktomi* saw a lone hunter and said to him, "My friend, are you very hungry?" The hunter said, "I am very hungry." *Iktomi* said, "If you will divide the fat meat with me I will tell you how to kill *Tatanka*." The hunter said "How?" *Iktomi* said, "Hide yourself on this trail and I will bring *Tatanka* near you when you must shoot an arrow into his forehead and that will kill him." The hunter hid himself on the trail and *Iktomi* went to *Tatanka* and said to him, "My friend, I have found where there is a great plenty of buffalo grass. Come with me and I will show it to you." *Tatanka* followed *Iktomi*, watching him closely, and trying to learn what trick he was about to play. Soon they came to where the hunter was hidden, and he shot an arrow into *Tatanka's* forehead. But *Tatanka* had been performing his ceremony in a wet wallow and the hair on his forehead was thickly matted with mud which had dried hard, so the arrow did him no harm.

When he saw what the hunter had done he said to *Iktomi*, "This is the trick that you have played on me. Because you have tried to have me killed I will chew your hair and kill you." So he began to chew *Iktomi's* hair. *Iktomi* screamed and acted as if he suffered much, and after a little time he fell down as if he were dead. Then *Tatanka* said to the hunter, "*Iktomi* played a trick on you, for he knew that if you wounded me I would gore you to death. Let us be friends. I will do something for you to show you that my heart is good toward you." The hunter said, "How. *Iktomi* has fooled my people very often and I am glad he is dead. To show you that my heart is good toward you I will do something for you." *Tatanka* said, "You may do this. Shoot an arrow where I ask you. What can I do for you?" The

hunter said, "Teach me the ceremony you perform in the wallow." *Iktomi* jumped up and said, "I want to be friend to each of you." *Tatanka* said to the hunter, "Shoot an arrow through his heart." *Tatanka* said to the hunter, "Hereafter you may wear a circle of red paint over your heart as a sign that you are a good hunter. Whenever a hunter kills an animal by shooting it through the heart he will be entitled to wear such a circle as a sign of honor. Go to your camp and seek a vision, and I will tell you how to perform the ceremony.

The hunter returned to his camp and asked a wise Shaman to help him in seeking a vision. So the Shaman went into the sweatlodge with him and used powerful medicine and mysterious incantations and told him he must purify himself by going into the sweatlodge four times. Then he must go naked and alone to a high hill, taking with him only a robe, a pipe, and willow bark to smoke. There he must invoke the Sun, *Maka*, *Inyan*, and *Wakan Ska*. Then he must call the spirit of *Tatanka*, who would tell him what to do. The hunter did as the Shaman had instructed him and when he had invoked the four great mysteries he covered himself with the robe and lay on the ground with his face covered.

He offered the smoke of the pipe to the spirit of *Tatanka* and then called it to help him as it had promised. A great white buffalo came and said to him, "What do you want more than any other thing?" He said, "I am a young man and I want more than anything else, a good woman, one who will be industrious, hospitable, and virtuous, and who will bear me children." The buffalo said to him, "I will teach you my ceremony and show you how to perform it. A girl is good. She has not yet formed her habits. When she has her first menstrual flow she then becomes a woman. At that time she is very mysterious and is susceptible to the influences of the spirits. I will teach you how to drive the evil influences away and how to invoke the good influences so that she may become a good woman. When a girl has her first menstrual flow her family and her friends should give a feast. They should choose a wise Shaman who will teach her how to be hospitable, industrious, and virtuous. He will invoke my spirit as you have invoked it. He must first burn sage to drive away *Iktomi* and the spirit of the coyote and all evil influences. He must burn sweetgrass to please the good spirits. The first menstrual flow of a woman is powerful for good and evil, but she must not destroy it. She must place it where it may be known what it is and where animals cannot get at it. When she has so placed the blood from her flow, then my ceremony may be performed over her. The Shaman will drive away the evil influences and invoke the good influences on that day. He will sing mysterious songs and teach mysterious things. He will sing this song first: —

A man coming from the west.

A man coming from the west.

Listen to him.

A man coming from the west.

Speaking he says mysterious things.

Listen to him.

All the girl's family and all her friends should listen to the Shaman and the girl should remember what he says."

The hunter returned to his camp and told the Shaman what the white buffalo had said. They called the people together and performed the Buffalo ceremony as the white buffalo had taught the hunter to do.

The following is a liberal translation of another version of the same legend.

*Iktomi* was very hungry. He schemed to kill a bull buffalo, so as to get plenty of fat meat. He said to the bull, "You are fat in the summer and you are lean in the winter. I will show you what to eat so you will be fat all the time. The bull knew that *Iktomi* would play a prank, so he agreed, but said that *Iktomi* must eat first. *Iktomi* showed wild hyacinth and ate of it. He began to swell. He said, "See how fat it makes me." The buffalo said, "You are poisoned and wish to poison us." Then he gored *Iktomi* through the stomach. He left him as dead, but he only let the wind out of *Iktomi's* stomach. He was well again. The bull saw this. He said to a hunter, "My friend, if you will do something for me I will do something for you." The hunter agreed. The buffalo said, "Hide and I will bring *Iktomi*. When he is near you must shoot an arrow through his heart." When they came near the hunter shot an arrow through the heart of *Iktomi*. *Iktomi* said, "This is an evil thing you have done; no one will believe me when they see the arrow in my heart." So the hunter pitied him and drew the arrow out. The blood flowed and made a red circle around the wound. *Iktomi* said that ever after when a hunter shot a bull buffalo through the heart he shall wear a red circle around his heart. The bull then said to the hunter, "What do you want?" The hunter said, "I want a good woman who will bear many children." The buffalo said, "I perform the ceremony in the wallow. I will show you how to perform this ceremony to make all your women good." The buffalo showed the hunter how to perform the Buffalo ceremony when a girl first lives alone. This makes the influences good. If she does as they influence she will be good. Good hunters will desire her. Brave warriors will desire her. It was long ago when the buffalo bull showed how to perform the buffalo ceremony.

#### THE BEGINNING OF FOOT RACING.

(Told by Hoka-chatka.)

Long ago a chief left his camp to visit a camp far away. On the way, he came to a man running over hills and valleys and round and round. He asked the man why he did this and he said he was a magician and running was part of the mysteries he performed. As they talked together, the chief told the magician that he was going to visit a camp far away and invited him to go along. He agreed to do so. As they traveled together, the chief asked the magician what his name was. He told him it was Runner.

After a time, they saw a man lying on the ground, laughing. He continued to laugh and roll about on the ground as if he heard something funny. They asked him why he did this and he told them that he was listening to a very funny story about an old woman who lived in a camp far away and the people in that camp were talking about the strange things she did. They asked how he could hear people in a camp far away. He told them that he was a magician and could hear things far away by putting his ear to the ground. While they talked together, the Chief and Runner told the other man that they were going on a visit and asked him if he would go with them and he agreed to do so. They then asked what his name was and he said he was called, Hears.

So the three traveled together. Soon they came to a man who was throwing

dust and sand into the air and blowing on it so that it whirled about. They asked him why he did this and he told them that he was a magician who could control the winds and he did this to cool the earth. While they talked with him, they told him that they were going on a visit and asked if he would go with them and he agreed to do so. They asked what his name was and he told them he was called West Wind.

As these four men traveled together they agreed to go to the camp where the old woman lived who could run so fast and do such strange things, for they knew that she was a witch. When they got there, they found the people outside the camp watching the witch performing her antics. She would run very swiftly and then jump high in the air and prance about in a ludicrous manner and she twitted the men and dared them to run against her.

The Chief told the Runner that as he was a magician who could run fast he should run with the Witch. He agreed to do so the next day. That night, Hears lay with his ear to the ground and heard the Witch plotting with her friends to play witch tricks on Runner to frighten him, so he told Runner of this.

The next morning four men came to the Chief and his friends and told them that the old woman was a witch and advised them not to contest against her for she might do some harm to them. But the Runner said he would run and risk her harming him.

About the middle of the day all went from the camp to the place where the race was to be run. The Witch said they would run once around a deep gully, then on level ground to the hills, and once around the hills and back through a gap in the hills to the place where they started. The Runner agreed to this. Then the Witch cavorted around the Runner and jumped high in the air and over his head to frighten him, but he only smiled at her and walked leisurely about.

Then she said that when they came to the place to start the one that was ready first should go first and he agreed to that. He knew that she intended to play some trick on him so he watched her closely. When they were to start, the Witch ran quickly to the starting place and ran on without stopping to see if he had started or not, but West Wind blew Runner ahead of the Witch.

Runner ran beside the witch and she ran faster but could not outdistance him. When they came to the hills, the witch changed herself into a jackrabbit and as she ran up the hill ahead of Runner she kicked dust and sand into his face and mocked him and said, "Ho, you did not know that I am a witch." Then Runner changed himself into a hawk and as he flew over the hills ahead of her he said, "Ho, you did not know that I am a magician." The witch was angry and called the hawk "old crooked nose" and reviled him, but he only laughed at her.

When the witch had gone over the hill, she changed herself into a beautiful young woman and called to the hawk to come to her. The hawk came. When he saw the young woman he changed himself into a young man and sat beside the young woman. She took his head in her lap and soothed him so that he was soon asleep. Then she laid his head on a soft bundle of grass and ran to the gap in the hills, intending to get back to the people before he should awake. She said, "Ho. I have fooled you. You will sleep till I win the race."

But Hears had his ear to the ground and told West Wind that the Witch was talking to Runner and what she said. Then West Wind blew sand and gravel in the face of Runner and awoke him. He saw that he had been fooled, so he changed himself into a hawk and flew swiftly after Witch and overtook her and beat her back to the place where they started.

The people had bet everything on the Witch, and they felt badly, so they persuaded the Chief and his friends to stay with them. They sent the Witch to find someone to run and win back what they had lost. The Witch went to the north and found one who said he could run swiftly and she brought him back with her, but Runner would not run with him. So the people called them cowards and beamed them until West Wind said he would run.

Then all the people went out to see the race. When they came there, the four friends saw that it was Waziya who was to run and they feared some trick. Waziya was fat and wheezed when he breathed and he was clothed in a thick robe made of down of birds. They agreed to go to the hills and run from there to the people. They started from the hills and ran side by side. Soon the Witch saw that Waziya was too fat to run so she pulled off his robe of down and threw it in front of West Wind intending to trip him, but he stepped on it and it disappeared. They ran on till they came near the people so that Waziya's breath was cold on them, but he got out of breath before he came to them. West Wind ran up to them and then ran on and back to them and said, "I have beaten the North Wind and I will always do so."

Hereafter men will run foot races and when they do so this shall be the rule, "He that cheats shall lose the race."



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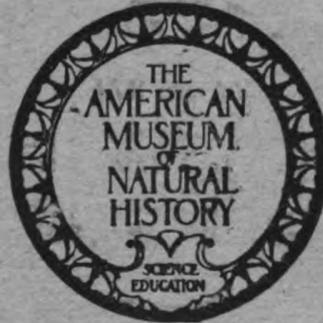
THE SUN DANCE AND OTHER CEREMONIES OF THE OGLALA  
DIVISION OF THE TETON DAKOTA.

BY  
J. R. WALKER.

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